FREE WORLD

NOVEMBER 1945

SPRUILLE BRADEN— AN INTIMATE REPORT

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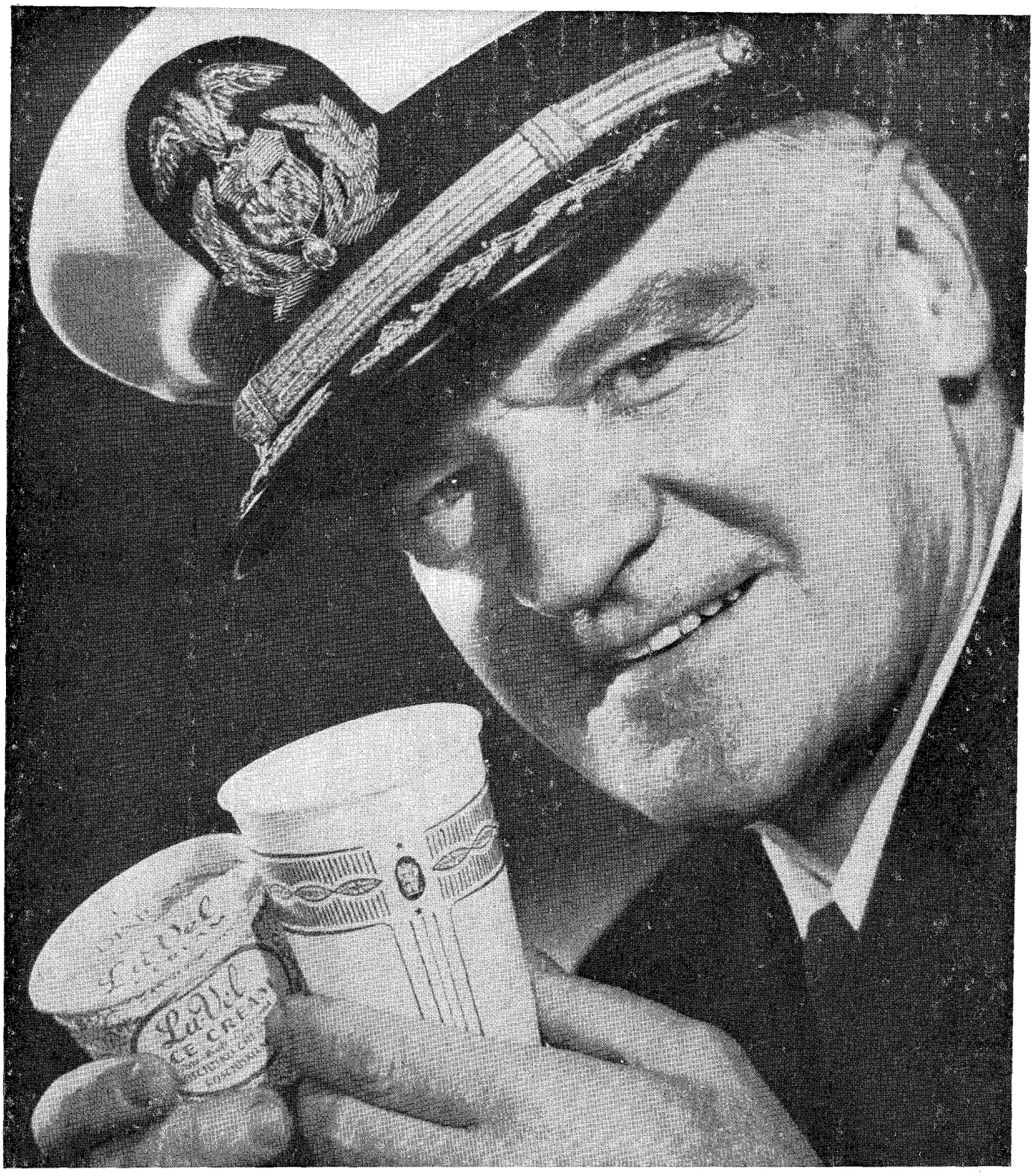

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The State of the World...

NOVEMBER 1945

FREE WORLD HAZARDS THESE INFORMED GUESSES

1. The United States and Great Britain will break off diplomatic relations with Franco of Spain within 60 days at the most, unless he gets out or manages to hide behind a face-saving puppet government. But not even the latter is likely to save him.

2. Argentine police and army officers face criminal charges as soon as the constitution is re-established. The charges: breaking, by revolution, their oath to support the constitution, scandalous maltreatment of prisoners in jails, and stupendous graft.

3. The French Socialists will dominate the political line-up until the elections held after adoption of the new constitution.

4. The next great atomic discovery will be announced in Copenhagen.

5. The British government will soon double their quota of permits to enter Palestine; i.e., the certificates will be upped from 100,000 to 200,000.

6. Eric Johnston, President of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and successor to Will Hays, will soon go to Europe to get Hollywood pictures back on European screens.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS:

LITVINOV IN HIGH POLICY MEETING

MOSCOW—The Soviet government is calling a special meeting soon in Moscow of its top experts to review the whole international political situation. Maxim Litvinov has been asked to prepare a fully documented report on the degree of support public opinion is giving the United Nations Organization; and on public reactions to the Potsdam meeting and the London Conference of Foreign Ministers. Whether this indicates a comeback for Litvinov as a leading figure in the UNO, is too soon to say. But if his report convinces the Soviet government and Marshal Stalin, his chances are pretty good.

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LONDON POLICY MEETING

LONDON—British cabinet ministers have been holding an important series of meetings in London with leading Labor party members and prominent independents whose criticism of Churchill's Tory policies helped the Labor party. The principal advice given the Labor ministers was, in synthesis:

The British Labor government will be incapable of increasing the standard of living in Britain, fulfill the housing program, regain Britain's place as a leading world economic power,—unless the United States cooperates with Great Britain on large issues and grants long-term credits to rebuild British industry. These critics consider that the abrupt termination of Lend-Lease was partly due to American fear of Socialism in England. Hence they advise very cautious policy for at least the next six months, so as not to alarm American conservatism.

One prominent Britisher however was of opinion that American public opinion would be more inclined to help Great Britain if British policy were not so stultified and reactionary. He called specifically for a more liberal attitude toward India and Palestine, and urged permitting democratic governments in Greece and Italy. Government opinion at these secret London meetings however was that liberal public opinion in the United States is outweighed by conservative American opinion.

The result of the meeting was to commission a study of the whole complex of Great Britain's relation to the Empire and of foreign policy. This report may be ready for discussion in the House of Commons before the Christmas recess.

DEMOCRACY POSSIBLE IN GREECE

ATHENS—Prominent British political leaders and certain young members of Parliament have arrived in Athens for a personal investigation of political conditions in Greece. Among them is Francis Noel-Baker MP, son of Minister Philip Noel-Baker. Regent Damaskinos has called leading liberals in various

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Greek factions—including Basil Vlavianos, long a resident of the United States—for urgent consultations.

Slated for a comeback is John Sophianopoulos, ex-foreign minister who was kicked out of the cabinet after the San Francisco meeting by British pressure. Sophianopoulos voted with U.S.S.R. against the admission of Argentina to UNO. Explaining his action he said: "The Greek people have suffered so much from fascists that I could not have gone back to Greece without being stoned had I voted for the admission of this fascist state to UNO." He is slated to return to the foreign office or perhaps even get the premiership.

INDIA PREPARING FOR INDEPENDENCE

NEW DELHI—Jawaharlal Nehru will soon travel to England and there try to demonstrate by personal argument to Labor party members, the need for quicker moves toward Indian freedom. Nehru wants to visit France and Russia and the United States where the Indian viewpoint has been so sympathetically received, and China to lay the groundwork for unofficial diplomatic relations.

EIGHT NEW METHODS OF TORTURE

NEW YORK—Fascism and war have introduced in the last fifteen years eight new kinds of torture beside which even the Inquisition remains a pale reflection. Among the most horrible are: electric prongs, slow starvation with the body buried up to the eyes, torture of children in the presence of parents and torture designed to cause insanity. Beating is common in the police stations of four-fifths of the world. FREE WORLD suggests that United Nations citizens take the initiative of having laws adopted to hold high government and police officials personally responsible for every act of torture and physical pain inflicted under their jurisdiction, whether ordered or tolerated by them. Otherwise expect the world to sink lower and lower.

UNO PATRONAGE STIRS ROW

LONDON—Bickerings to determine who will fill important positions in the Secretariat of the UNO have begun. Hopes that the Secretariat would be a model are fading fast. Three

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main points were discussed in the open and behind hotel doors at the organizing meeting in London.

First, whether leading members of the Secretariat should be appointed by the foreign offices of the countries whose nationality they bear, or whether they should be selected on their merits and devotion to international organization. In this connection, the more extreme internationalists insisted that all important officials should owe allegiance exclusively to UNO as a whole.

Second, whether the Secretariat should have direct contact with various United Nations members, with power of personal investigation, or whether they would have to depend on what various foreign offices were willing to tell them. It was proposed that they hold international diplomatic passports entitling them to travel freely.

Third, location of the Secretariat generated such controversial heat that the burns are still evident. Prominent Britishers especially felt that to locate the Secretariat in the United States would emphasize the decline of Europe. Furthermore, they fear the influence of reactionary congressional circles in the United States such as the Committee on Un-American Activities, which can at any moment seriously impede the Secretariat's work by threats of investigation and smear campaigns. As an alternative they suggested locating the Secretariat in Europe and choosing an American—naming General Dwight D. Eisenhower as a leading candidate—as secretary general.

The decisions taken demonstrate the worst kind of compromise, and are depressing evidence of unimaginativeness and reaction. (1) Officials will be appointed by their foreign offices, (2) they will have international diplomatic passports, but require visas—which neatly limits their effectiveness and (3) while the preliminary decision is to locate the Secretariat in the United States, the final decision is due to come via a lively fight at the full organizational meeting to be held in November where all the United Nations will be represented.

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FREE WORLD NOVEMBER, 1945

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AN EDITORIAL

Asia is aflame with a desire for independence, for an end of colonial vassalage, from India to Korea and from Burma to Java. But from the actions today of old-school Dutch, French and British colonial administrators, who have not yet felt the democratic pulsation of their own countries, it would seem that the freedom for which the recent war was fought does not extend to Asiatics.

Attempts to re-establish colonial overlordships vitiate the basic principle of a free world. Over 1,000,000,000 Asiatics are involved and they are entitled to their own life.

FREE WORLD believes that the United Nations have a collective responsibility toward Asia. We believe that practical steps to be taken by colonial powers begin with firm, public commitments to abandon colonial controls within stated time limits. Guiding of Asiatic peoples toward maturity and self-government demands long-range planning to improve health, living and education standards. And the Asiatic people must be given empirical education through increasing participation in legislation, administration and review of their own laws from the Bench. The American example in the Philippines—despite its faults—can yet prove a basic model for Asiatic freedom.

On their side the Asiatics have a duty also, and that is not to exchange foreign colonial masters for despotic native masters. Their entry into independent national existence must be on firm and honest democratic lines.

The United Nations must not break faith with Asia, but Asia must not break faith with the world.

The Editors

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WORLD LABOR MEETS: Labor's delegates from over two-score countries met at the Hotel Chaillot in Paris to adopt the constitution of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Here is a general view of this historic assembly. *Acme phot.*

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WORLD LABOR MEETS IN PARIS

By C. W. Fowler

GROUPED under a huge symbolic figure of a worker's hand letting free a dove of peace, delegates representing 75 million trade unionists have been meeting in the Chaillot Palace in Paris to set up a new, permanent constitution for a World Federation of Trade Unions. This will be the first inclusive world labor body in history.

Its basic aims are:

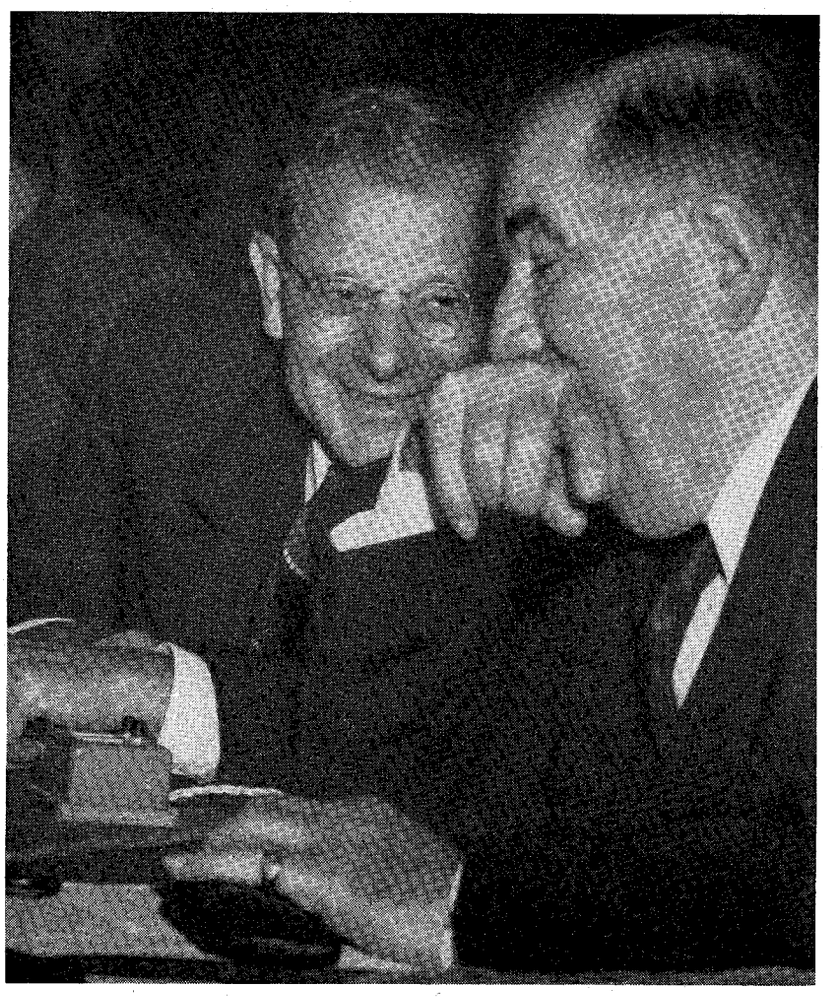
"To organize and unite within its ranks the trade unions of the whole world, irrespective of considerations of race, nationality, religion, or political opinion;

"To assist, wherever necessary, the workers in countries socially or industrially less developed, in setting up their trade unions;

"To carry on the struggle for the decisive defeat of the fascist powers and for the extermination of all fascist forms of government and every manifestation of fascism, under whatever form it operates and by whatever name it may be known;

"To combat war and the causes of war and to work for a stable and enduring peace."

Other aims—which are also demands on the governments—include guarantees of workers' rights to organize, to improve wages and working conditions, to have full employment, social security and the like.



Seventy million workers live in the countries whose names appear on this rostrum from which Leon Jouhaux, leader of the French C.G.T. addresses the WFTU congress, where the delegates mapped labor's role in the post-war world. *I.N.P. phot.*

Leon Jouhaux of France (r.) and Sidney Hillman of U. S. (C.I.O.) swap unrecorded opinions at the WFTU congress. *I.N.P. phot.*

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The "Big Four" at the WFTU meeting. Left to right they are Sidney Hillman, vice-president of C.I.O. and president of Amalgamated Clothing Workers, U.S.A., Sir Walter Citrine, secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, Leon Jouhaux of France, and Michael Tarasov of USSR.

Wide World phot.

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This road leads home. Not the home that he left when he entered the army—to be made prisoner and spend five years in Nazi PW camps. He returns to a France which needs rebuilding at staggering cost, but it is a new France animated with a new spirit, a new dedication and a new drive. *AP phot.*

FRANCE's COMEBACK

FRENCH men and women to day are scrambling back from the slough dug by six years of nazi devastation and the comeback of their country will depend on whether and how they will succeed in renewing—in the same ways as before, or in new fashion—the multitude of little things whose sum we call life.

The prisoner returning from enemy camps must feel a dull dread as he trudges between tall poplars toward his native village. Wreckage, he knows he will find. But the question he ponders is its extent. Too often it spreads to all the phases of life: buildings destroyed are not only proof of physical shelter gone. Associations have crumbled, families are dispersed, memories are now haunted—and the intangible is yet part of life.

First of course come the body's basic needs. Houses are needed, and if there are no new bricks at hand, old ones must be salvaged. Seed must be planted that people may eat again. Fashion can be waived but protective clothing is essential. And then slowly, on these three pillars can community, a complex of intangibles, again be built.

Comeback is a question of spirit. If only to consider one facet, the whole nature of French political life has been altered by granting the vote to women. Reports flying across the Atlantic say that in France there is a new spirit, a new dedication and a new drive.

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Before even seed can be planted the hellish harvest of unexploded mines must be made. 6,000,000 mines have been removed, but the nazis have planted an estimated 100,000,000 of these capsules of death. To clear them all will take 3 years and 27,000 lives. When clearance first was undertaken 1 person died for every 1,000 mines; techniques have improved and only (!) 3 now die for every 10,000 mines.

Geiger-Rapho phot.

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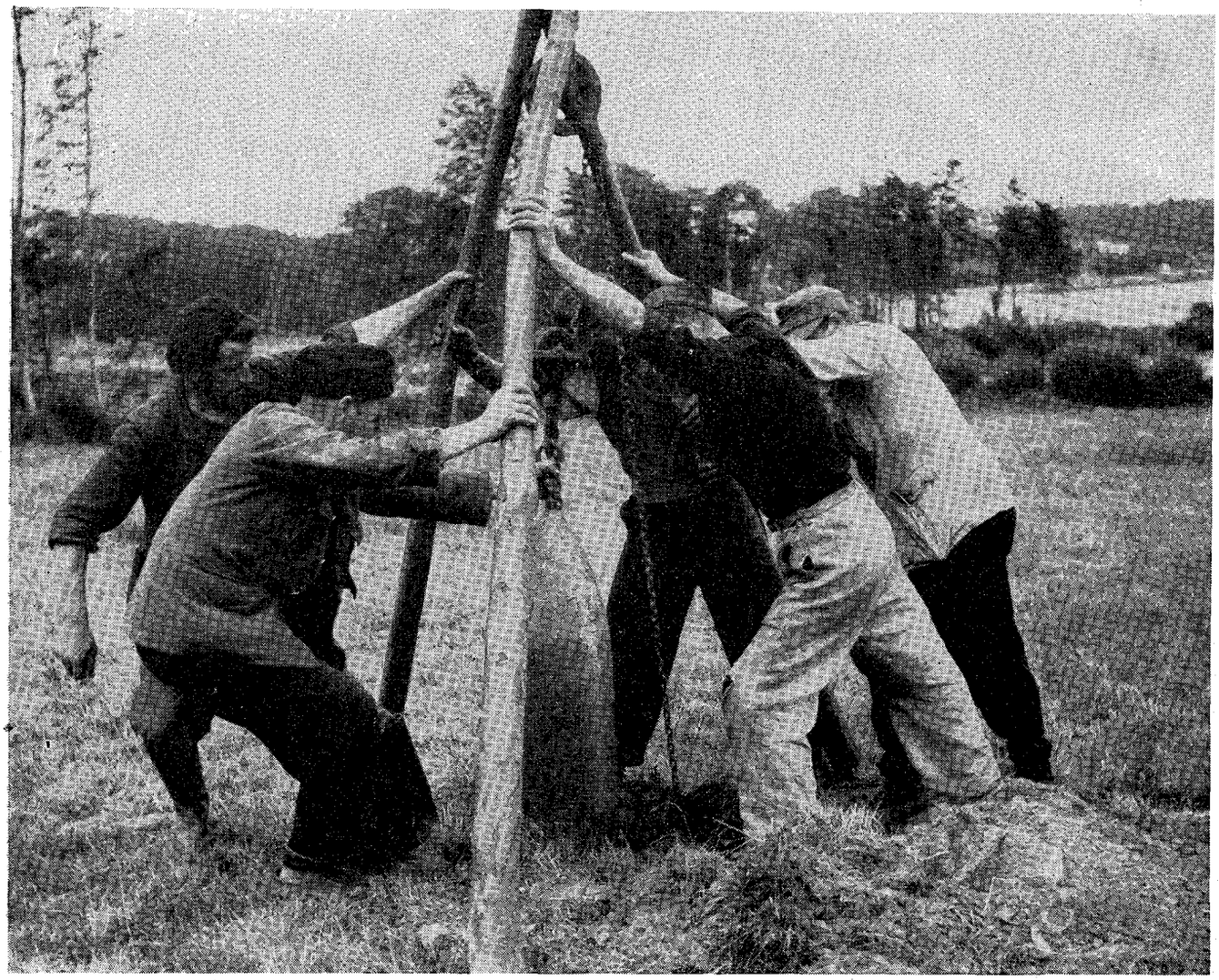

When short of mines, shells were buried, fitted with special detonators. Here is a shell 10½" in diameter, weighing 400 lbs. *Geiger-Rapho phot.*

Mine-removing crews at work. On the left, M. Auguste, himself an ex-PW, is chief of the mine-removing crew. He commands a team of Frenchmen assisted by German prisoners of war. In the center photo sailor Wolfgang Krause of Hamburg advances on foot through a weed-swamped field unused for 4 years. On the right, a mine has been found and its primers were removed — the most ticklish part of the job. *Geiger-Rapho phot.*

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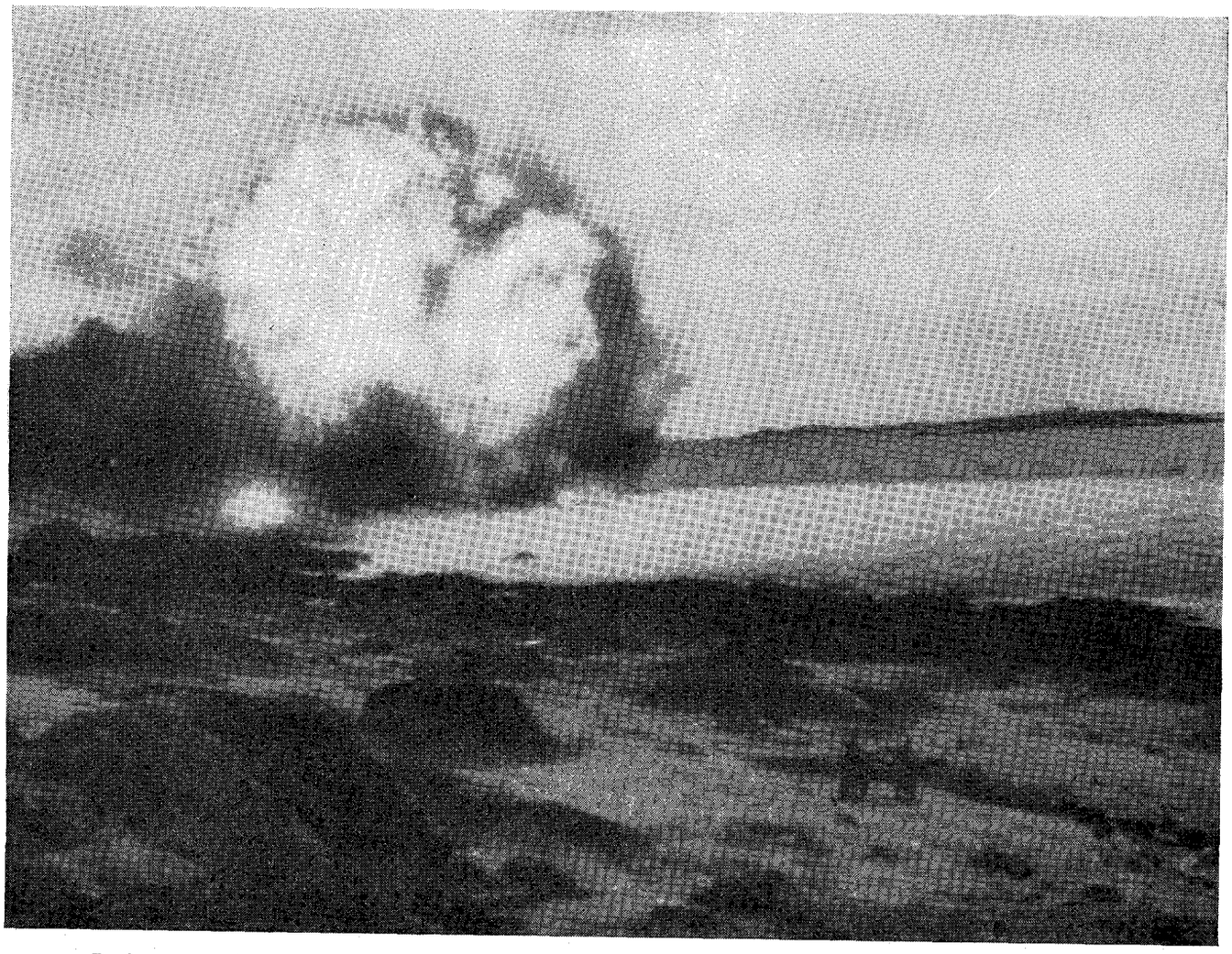
A cube of white stone bearing a number, the key to a mine field. Starting with this cube, the mines are evenly placed. It is sufficient to discover two of these cubes in order to expose the whole field for the clearers. — Auguste distributes the work among his men, using the cube as a starting point. He and one of his men are holding mine detectors. *Geiger-Rapho phot.*



Explosions such as this one will occur for many years. Where it can safely be done, mines are exploded in groups of 8 to 10 by electric ignition. *Geiger-Rapho phot.*

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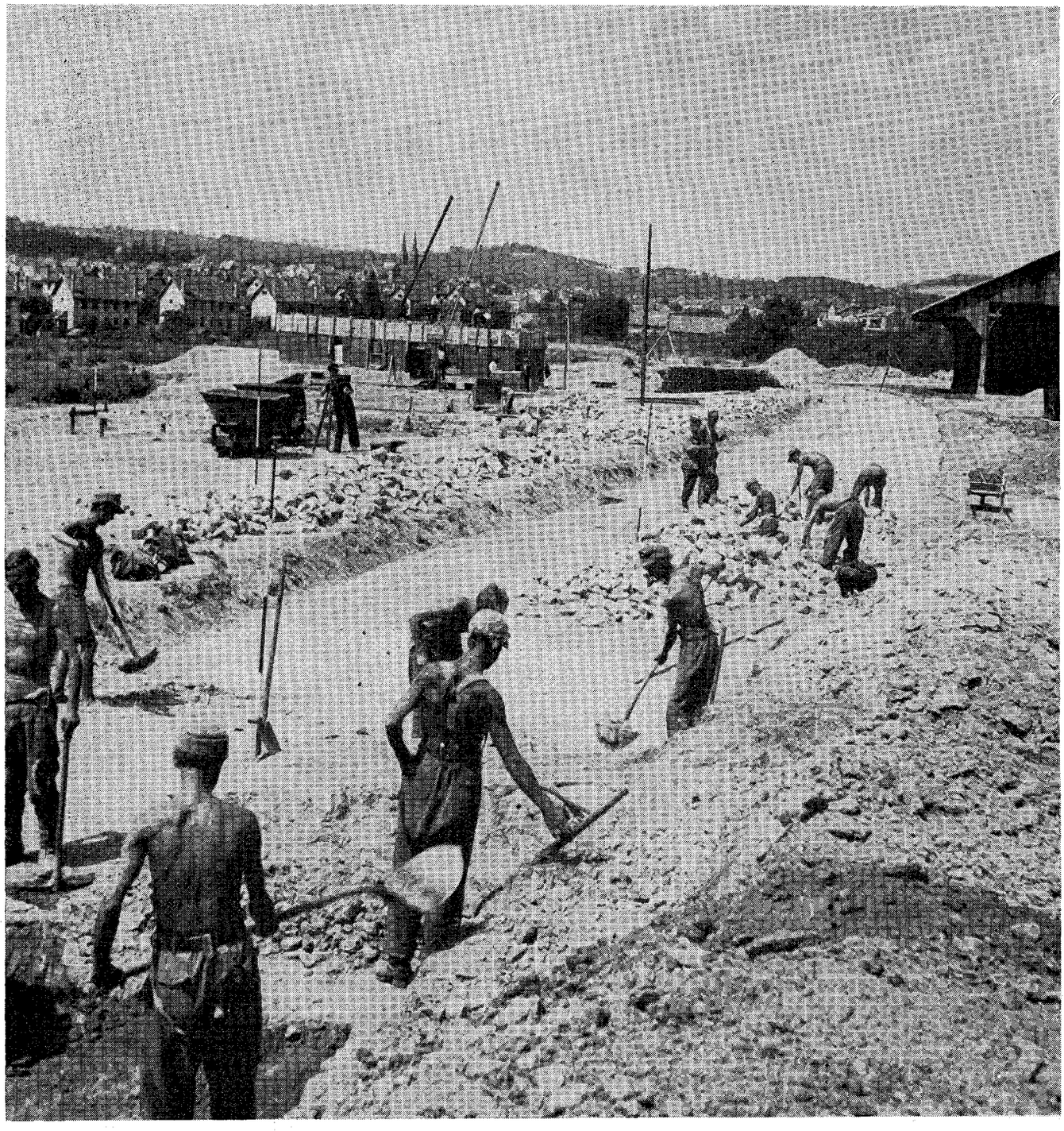

German PWs must help reconstruct what they destroyed when under arms. Here they work on a road. *French Govt. phot.*

Somehow, when the tremendous task of reconstruction must be undertaken, one always comes back to the fact that nothing can come or go without roads—be they rivers, heaving seas, footpaths or ample highways. And until things can come to where they are needed, all but the simplest personal activity is impossible. This explains the cry from all war-torn lands for roads, for road machinery, for rails, for tires and trucks. But if there is nothing better to use, one must make roads by hand, by shovel and little baskets. Movement is the whole of life

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Temporary buildings must be put up first. Here is one at Tergnier (Aisne). *French Govt. phot.*

A German prisoner cleans bricks salvaged from the rubble which he himself may have created. There is no machinery available yet and reconstruction must be attempted by the most primitive methods.

Phot. J. A. Ducrot

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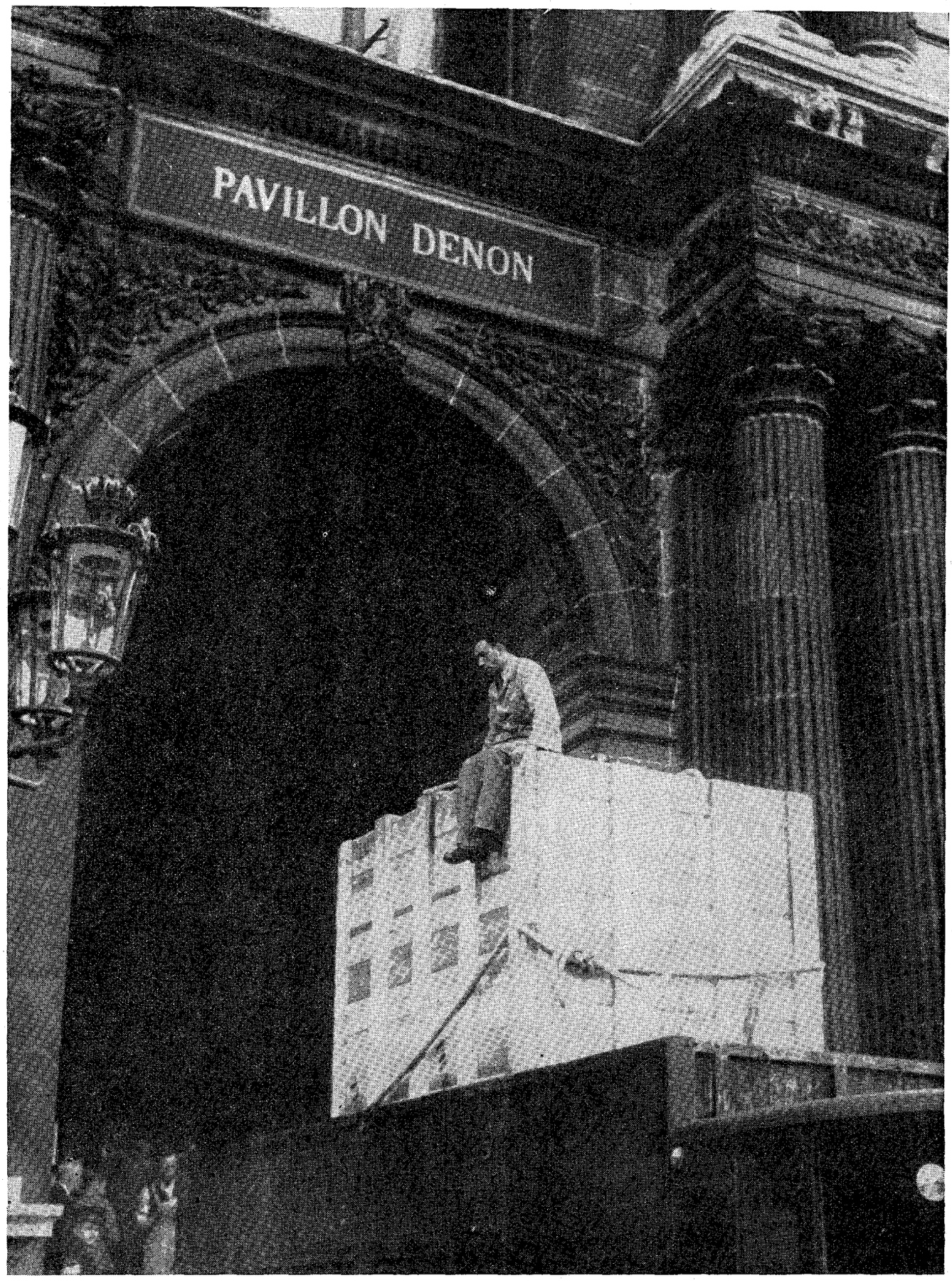

Looted items of art are trickling back. The Victory of Samothrace has already returned. Here is the undistinguished but welcome homecoming of the Venus de Milo. *French Info. Serv. phot.*

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France's rebirth occurs also in her political life. French women have voted for the first time in history, and one result of feminine suffrage was the election of 700 women mayors.
French Info. Serv. phot.

Mme. de Gaulle casting her vote.
French Info. Serv. phot.

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French women take voting in their stride. Notice in the top picture how the woman about to vote hugs the four-foot long loaf of bread. Women in French politics apparently are there to stay, and one might add, it's about time.

Black Star phot.

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PRIMER FOR WORLD GOVERNMENT

AN EDITORIAL BY LOUIS DOLIVET

SOME of the supporters of world government exaggerate when they state that in the next atomic war the universe will be destroyed. As yet, atomic science has not progressed far enough. Only New York, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Kansas City, Houston, San Francisco, Paris, London, Manchester, Moscow, Leningrad and all other cities of over fifty thousand inhabitants have a pretty fair chance of approaching the present state of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The deserts, the bushlands of Africa, the small communities which are of no strategic value, might survive if the war breaks out soon enough, before science can do the thorough job of putting the atomic world into action and of destroying everything.

If this be any consolation to the chauvinists of America or Europe, of Asia or Africa, we willingly share with them the secret told to us by some atom scientists—that only three quarters of the earth, and 75 per cent of the human beings, are threatened. Let the super-nationalists continue to live in their fool's paradise, but let all the others among us who have a minimum of common sense left, act to prevent the destruction of "only" three-fourths of our earth.

No responsible statesman anywhere today can deny that in a few months—or, at most, a few years—many other countries can produce atomic bombs.

The most powerful and poignant statement in this order of ideas was released on October 13th by the four hundred scientists of San Alamos who have been working on the atomic bomb. They clearly indicate that, first of all, there is no secret atomic knowledge, and secondly, that other nations will catch up very quickly on the process of production. After more than two years of silence, the scientists have decided to speak up and to inform the world that when they made the atomic bomb it was their hope that it would serve peace and world cooperation, and not the prolongation of an international state of fear, distrust and suspicion.

That is why more and more people are convinced that the only way to master atomic energy in the interests of humanity is world control—and that means world government.

BUT as soon as you have spoken or written the words "world government," a thousand questions are fired at you: "World government, how?" "How many votes will each country have?" "What about our sovereignty?" "Will we have world government with or without Russia?" "How can the United States and Burma belong to the same federation?"

Let us, first of all, clear up the question that is uppermost in the minds of many people: World government with or without Russia?

Without Russia there would be no world government, but simply a federation

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of a certain number of countries—and this is approximately how the world would look: On one side there would be the Americas, Western Europe and the Dominions, with about 350 million inhabitants. On the other side there would be Russia, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, with about 250 million inhabitants. Asia and Africa would look on for a while in malevolent neutrality and try to weaken both sides. Intrigues, revolutionary agitation, espionage and counter-espionage would wreck the world. In the shadows, Germany and Japan would wait for the moment when they could once more become the hyenas of the battlefields and try anew what so miserably failed in World War II. Therefore, whether one likes it or not, the conclusion is that world government must comprise all of humanity, not only some parts, and that evading the Russian issue by a partial federation would merely aggravate the dangers instead of eliminating them.

THE same reasoning which applies to the Western world is of course binding for Russia, too. If she, in her turn, were to try to build a federation of friendly states within her sphere of influence, she would face a most distrustful world and provoke instantaneously an alliance against that federation by other countries — and the whole infernal cycle of alliances and counter-alliances would begin all over again. Therefore, both the Western world and Russia find themselves faced with insurmountable obstacles in case of individual and separate action. The only salvation for each of them lies in the closest association possible.

Such unity can permit the Western and the Russian world to bring Asia, South America and Africa into a common framework, because none of the last three could afford to abstain from participation in an organization that comprises the most powerful nations in the world. Only such unity can prevent the comeback of German and Japanese militarism.

Unity within the Western world on the one side, and between the West and Russia on the other, are extremely difficult goals to achieve. Within the Western world there are many problems to be solved. There is imperialism in some countries; there is racial discrimination in others; there is economic isolationism, preferential trade policies, and hundreds of other obstacles which are the heritage of the past. Between the Western and the Russian world there are the differences of political and economic systems, ideological obstacles and, above all, the distrust which has been paralyzing the relations between the two groups of states during the last twenty-five years.

BUT none of these obstacles and differences are strong enough to resist, even for a single moment, the realities of the atomic age. Widening sectors of the public in almost all countries clamor for the tossing aside of many concepts of the past which have brought only misery and war. Among these vestiges of the past, the most tenacious and also the most absurd and unscientific is the concept of so-called absolute national sovereignty. Yet what does sovereignty mean in a world in which one single bomb can destroy an entire city? Or when no single country could fight nazism by itself and was obliged to enter into the most far-reaching alliance of history in order to defeat it? Therefore, the first condition necessary to bring about world government lies in the radical modification of the concept of national sovereignty.

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The most important strongholds which national sovereignty must give up are military preparations, acts of war and, above all, atomic research for war. The creation of a World Atomic Authority, whose competence must extend to all three of these fields, is of vital importance and can easily be achieved within the United Nations framework if the people of the world make it clear to their governments that this is their overwhelming desire. Once such a central international authority exists, the danger of immediate misuse of atomic energy can be prevented, and humanity will have the necessary respite to develop the present United Nations concept into an effective system of world government.

THE next step will be to do some hard thinking on the best means of transforming the General Assembly of the United Nations into a world parliament. At present, the General Assembly of the United Nations is nothing more than a meeting of fifty-one government representatives who all have an equal vote without any distinction as to number of inhabitants, degree of self-government, free institutions, economic, intellectual, health and other standards of the countries they represent. Theoretically, the twenty Latin American Republics, some of which are far from having representative governments, plus the Arabian States, could have the majority in the Assembly at any moment and, at least from a formalistic point of view, impose their will upon the rest of the world.

The composition of the Assembly is such because the concept of national sovereignty of each government was the basi for its structure. It is therefore of utmost importance that the structure of the Assembly be radically modified in two ways. First of all, the members of the Assembly must be not only government representatives, but representatives directly elected by the various peoples as delegates. Secondly, a system of weighted representation must be introduced, taking into account number of inhabitants represented, and the degree of self-government each country has, along with economic, intellectual, health and other standards.

Once the Assembly has been thus modified, a more just and more realistic representation will be achieved. An immediate requirement will be the amendment of the United Nations Charter adopted at San Francisco, eliminating references to sovereignty. These references formally validate the respective national claims to sovereignty and make international controls impossible. Thereafter it will be possible to undertake the third step: the modification of the veto power. The only justification that can be found for the veto lies precisely in the theory that Nicaragua and Saudi Arabia vote equally with the United States and Russia.

The only alternative to such a procedure would be to toss aside completely the United Nations and to try to obtain, by direct popular action, the calling of a world constitutional convention. But in our opinion, this would take much longer, and be exposed in the present situation to many more hazards, than trying to work through the United Nations Organization, which, after all, has been ratified by the overwhelming majority of the representatives of the peoples of the world.

The above-mentioned modifications in the structure of the United Nations can be attained within six months to a year if millions of citizens of the United Nations start to work toward abolishing the vestiges of reactionary policies in their respective countries, and by working for the creation of an international popular movement for world government.

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THE APPENINE WAY

A PROSE POEM

Joseph Hirsh

THE war has long been done along the road I ride these days, a road which some map-man with engineer's precision baptized Route 67 . . . For me, it runs from Florence, where Dante was both spawned and shunned, to Forli, on the eastern sea—a matter of some sixty miles.

The rolling hills, the streams and dammed-up ponds (where you'd expect to find both trout and bass—but none are there, I know, for I have tried) beguile the traveler in a jeep . . . It's a good day for travelling, you think . . . The breeze is fresh; the sun is warm . . . The cotton clouds are few and skidding fast . . . The road's not bad; it must have been repaired . . . And then before you know it, you're bouncing, grinding, twisting, climbing up a hill which overdid itself and spawned a mountain, then another and another . . . (Ambition knows no end . . . To verify this view, you need but travel 67.)

Remember Routes 1 and 9 at home? . . . These mountains are the same; some bald and burnished, others fulsome . . . The flumes and gorges are those we used to see —where was it? . . . Franconia, Magog? Front Royal, Burlington? . . . If these are memory's watering points, it should not seem so strange to see kaleidoscoped as I go by: a donkey-cart with solemn-black dressed women; . . . or ponderous oxen, Brahma-bred, hauling high-wheeled wagons; . . . or scraps of land—called farms—tilting anxiously to the sky; . . . or herds of goats upon the slopes, watched over by a wizened Pan; . . . or prepossessing children—all face and eyes; . . . or convoys of laden backs and sodden feet (returning to a land which stood between two armies) . . . Is this Virginia's Skyline Drive? . . . (It might be, you know.) . . . No . . . This is Italy . . . And this is the Appenine Way.

ON 67, or going north on 65, up to the Po (the Fifth Army boys remember Futa Pass, the storms on Maggiore and Bastione), or up Ligurian's number 1 to 'Spezia, the sights are all the same . . . They read in English—CAUTION MINES . . . In terse Yank, too, they call attention to the land—MINED . . . In Kraut they gutter—ACHTUNG MINEN . . . And in expansive Eyetie they sing—Vietato l'ingresso—MINE . . . (The Supermen's spring-cleaning came too early to be thorough; their warning signs saved many lives—not all.)

The seeds are just as deadly now as when they first were planted . . . The twisted carcass of a jeep lies in that field which once grew wheat . . . And over there for twenty-yards around are bits and pieces of a goat . . . Or are they of a man — missing in action? . . . Enough to turn some next of kin from hope—to hopeless certainty? . . . The crusade of crosses is just the same . . . But now Graves Registration prepares the stage for you and me . . . But more for Gold Star mothers—and for Congressmen—who'll come one day to call this hallowed ground . . . But I see it as it is today—as yet unprettied . . . The crosses and the Stars of David are weeping blood upon the land—a land which answers in confusion (with chameleon politics and ancient cynicism, with boys already on the march with guns—not in mimicry or as a game, but as their fathers did) with poppies . . .

I ride along and this is Skyline Drive on Sunday . . . I never saw this chaplet here, these roadside caves . . . A camp must not be far away . . . There's a Sherman, burned and blown; a Mark IV too, expended—its rifle smashed . . . I ride past monuments, reminders . . . An obelisk of ammo boxes, a mound of empty shells . . . A gun-carriage here, some scattered rifles there; the broken arc and spokes of cartwheels—the scattered leavings of pursued, pursuer . . . I must have missed my turn . . . "Pardon me, mister.

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Is this the road to? . . . Eh? . . . Oh . . . Dove la strada a? . . ." You see, the mountains are much the same . . . This might have been the Glenn Falls Road . . . (It might be, you know.) . . . No . . . This is Italy . . . And this is the Appenine Way.

AS good friends do, my jeep and I have differed—for many thousand miles. But now and then we take the road together . . . We ride along and see the spoils of man, the prodigality of God . . . The eye of mind and camera records and manufacturers memories which must not die as long as I'm alive . . .

From crag-topped heights a boulder smashed into the road . . . The jeep jammed to a crashing stop . . . The interval of silence was torn by a hunted scream—beating the brain, tearing the heart . . . (Remember Mr. Poe?) . . . The scream rang again, vaulting through the pass, beating against the gorge's walls—tumbling down the mountain into my brain—growing in anguish, joined by companions . . . What had I hit? . . . A goat, a pig, a man—whose screams I knew? . . . These were not of a world you know . . . And then I saw from whence they came . . .

A swarm of ghosts came trudging through the pass, ghosts of men already forgotten . . . (Remember this is noon—the sun is bright—and not the thunder-black of night which spawns such things.) . . . "How can the dead," you ask (who never shall – but manage to die in vain), "scream of their pain?" . . . (The futile waste?) . . . You doubt the scream of ghosts? . . . But then you've never ridden 67 . . . or 1 . . . or 65 . . . , the roads where once these ghosts did walk as men, the roads into the hills where so many died . . . as sons of God—believing . . .

And as they came, the swarm moved on . . . Each shadow-memory of men as sacred as once the men themselves were friends and dear to me . . . I rode the road once more, in western Back Bay—up Green Mountain way . . . (It might be, you know.) . . . No . . . This is Italy . . . And this is the Appenine Way.

THE miles slipped by . . . But dreams—even those right in the sun refuse to die . . . This side of Benedetto—a cross-roads of a town—I saw a man . . . Or was it shadow of a man? . . . (For after all the war was done.) . . . His plane was burning still upon the mountain, where it had hit . . . His chute was in the ditch along the road . . . A leg torn just below the knee spigotted blood upon the ground . . . Two SS men were dragging him; then tired with their load, they held a hurried consultation . . . The decision made, he saw it in their faces . . . They had him kneel there in the road—not twenty feet away . . . His conference with God was brief . . . He screamed just once . . . "Please, don't!" . . . And then a sigh that had the sound of "Mama" shivered the silence—as his throbbing brains lay splattered on 67 . . . Yes, I saw the ghost of this thing happen . . . Oh, you don't believe in ghosts, that's right . . . Nor—I suppose—in sworn statements of the SS men . . . I saw them, too.

This boy is not alone . . . There are gunners, pilots, ACK-ACK BARmen, bombardiers, who died his death . . . To cite just one companion case, there was a guy called Jake . . . He left his flaming, sailing hell over a fashionable Fascist town—called Civitavecchia . . . He was received like Lindbergh—but with no ticker tape . . . Have you ever heard the plaudits of hammers, boots on bone? . . . This systematic work was not that of the SS, but of fun-loving Fascists—who've been described; inept, peaceful, romantics . . . The guilty were not hard to find . . . But wars and murder, prize-fights, cricket, must be fairly refereed . . . We collected testimony, prepared the record; took sworn statements, eliminated hearsay . . . And then referred the case to Higher Authority—for final disposition . . . Eight months had passed . . . A headache cannot last that long . . . The gunner's brow has long been soothed . . . But his screams still are upon the sea . . . Drive down number 1 to Civitavecchia—if you don't believe me . . . . P.S. Not long ago a survey team reviewed the case . . . Alas, alack, no prisoners could be found . . .

". . . regrets to inform you that your . . . was killed in action . . ." How did he

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die? . . . They say there is an honorable way to die . . . (maybe) . . . believing in a way of life, or in defense of life and limb and home . . . Did your men die so—in battle—believing? . . . Or can you hear their screams when scared, alone and torn, their captors slipped a bayonet between their ribs . . . Or knowing of their thirst, their weariness, they satisfied them both with water through a hose—jammed down their throats . . . And to assure full measure, they held their nostrils tight so they could drink enough—to burst their lungs . . . The cries are muted now along the road I ride, a road of pines and elms—New Hampshirelike . . . (It might be, you know.) . . . No. . . . This is Italy . . . And this is the Appenine Way.

THE mountains are a curtain backdrop when Forli is at hand . . . The sounding board finds echoes in every stopping place, where sad shadows of men commune with ghosts and hear the cries of friends who fell along the pass and in the mountains . . .

Cesena, Cesenatico are only names to you . . . But here live men within four walls who fought a dirty, rotten war—and died a thousand deaths . . . You'd think that was enough—but no. They die them over—every day . . . From time to time I visit them . . . We get on fine because they're simple men . . . They ask me simple questions . . . Once—long ago—the answers read so well in War Department pamphlets . . . But now they're not so sure, no more than I.

(In the beginning we were tempered in freedoms to be earned; steeled to the mistakes of the other war to be undone—Versailles, the farce at Leipzig; steeped in the hope of the new world to be gained.) . . . Now they cannot understand . . . (nor ever could) . . . the parliamentarianism of war which makes a game of death . . . They cannot understand a war where murder goes unavenged, and dead men are betrayed ere they have died . . .

But more than these, they cannot understand the living who betray themselves . . . From home they hear of buddies—abused, rejected, beaten . . . And the clarion call of Freedom which once they followed—believing—is now a clack and hiss which snickers at her slant-eyed heroes . . . They read of Mississippi statesmen, and others of their cloth, who drive the stake into the heart of honest effort to make men free from fear and want—the things for which they fought, or thought they fought . . . They cannot understand precisely—what it is that made the FEPC, to cite but one example, good for war, but not for peace . . . (But with its death, they understand why Negro buddies prefer the crusts of Italy to home, for which they fought—and fear.)

In Stars and Stripes and in the Union Jack, they learn that self-determination for Greece and Poland, and for other little nations, is much the provender for worms—as those themselves who fought for it, and died . . . And then came San Francisco—shades of the League of Nations . . . Hope was there; the purpose good . . . But now they cannot understand what welds a world for death—but fails to hold it in its quest for life.

The men in Cesenatico know fear—not for themselves—but for those who are from their loins . . . Hard realists at home already tell them they are soldiers, sailors, saviors of another war . . . (And are they far from wrong?) . . . But do not think these Cesenaticans are devilled without hope . . . They hear the cries and screams along the road and in the hills—and know with sad, uncanny certainty (of madmen and the damned) that this is not the last indignity of man against himself . . . The hope they have is test-tube born and blue-print wrought—the atom is unjointed . . . No longer prisoner, within its heart is pullulating promise beyond the dreams of man . . . For where his parliaments have failed, the bit of matter he has probed assures a final choice—a world of fullness, freedom for all men, or one so free of them, that it can again commune with stars . . . from whence it came.

FLORENCE, ITALY
18 August 1945

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REFLECTIONS ON RETURNING HOME

By Lt. Byron Buckeridge

THE moment I stepped off the gang-plank onto American soil I felt aware of a new pair of postwar eyes, a postwar heart, and a postwar brain. All persons, things and ideas in the world will now be measured and compared with my war experiences.

Green fields, white farm houses, big barns, and cattle grazing, on both sides of the four-lane highway for miles and miles.

Not a shell-hole anywhere. Not a gutted home in sight. Not a shrapnel-butchered tree on the horizon. Not a farmer's wife wearing a dirty bandage around her gashed head. No people digging for bodies among ruins. No stiff-legged, stinking cattle stretched out in the pasture. No farmers afraid to plow on soil sown with shu-mines, box-mines, tellermines, trip-wires and duds. Folks walking without fear in their hearts over virgin undynamited earth. No sudden deafening blasts and human organs flying through space.

Two quarts of milk sparkling on the doorstep at 7:30 in the morning. Not since I left the States have I enjoyed this picture of freedom from want. Fresh, pure, pasteurized milk in clean bottles delivered just outside the screen door. Just reach out in the cool morning air and pick up the bottles and go into the warm kitchen and pour the baby a glassful of milk.

Just fly around the world in a B-29 and focus the bomb-sight on the frail hands reaching out from the ghost-towns for bottles of freedom from want that are not there . . . Remember, while I was taking pictures of the old castle at Minturno, two funeral processions passed by, and in both the families were carrying children's caskets.

An ordinary American hill covered with tall grass and wild flowers and a bill-board perched on top screaming out that such and such a national brand had gone to war and come back.

That hill is not a military objective known by a military number. No need to call for artillery on a concealed pill-box. That hill will not be covered with blood at dawn tomorrow. That hill is used by folks to grow stuff on, build a home on, or to paint, or just to look at and enjoy, or to rent out to a bill-board company.

Welcoming the boat were smiling, friendly Red Cross hostesses offering us hot coffee and fresh doughnuts, and very military looking, nicely shaped Wacs who marched us to our train seats. American women with clean, smooth skin, sparkling, white teeth, glamorous hair-do's, soft, clean hands, high-heeled leather shoes, and red lips that spoke English.

No old women carrying bundles of olive twigs as big as a folded mattress on their hooked backs. No young mothers aged by poverty and overwork waiting with a bucket for chow scraps. No girl offered to sell her body for a few cans of rations or chocolates for the kids. Not a hungry face anywhere. In fact, most of the American women were probably trying, and failing to diet. And in no woman's eyes could you notice the look of terror from years of air-raids, or from living in caves in the mountains to escape the battlefield.

Row upon row of white homes, green roof-tops, red chimneys, white garages, concrete sidewalks, tar-topped roads, gravel driveways, mowed lawns, victory gardens and flower gardens and white fences.

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Row upon row of white crosses . . . Jim . . . Charlie . . . Max . . . Art . . . and on and on until you nearly go mad thinking about it . . . I owe this homecoming to them . . .

Kids kicking a football in the wide street. Not one of them comes running over to the truck convoy to beg for chocolates and cigarettes.

"Hey, Joe, gimme chocolate and cigaret. Hey, gimme for my pa, please Joe!" (Hey, buddy, got a dime for a cup of coffee?) Not a kid with a bloated belly. All rosy cheeked, full of pepper, and clean, even when they are dirty, compared to the Arab and Italian kids. Nobody hungry who can't get fed—by a quick dash to the nearest refrigerator. No dirty hands and necks that can't be scrubbed with floating soap in a bathtub full of hot water, and a big clean bath towel to dry on. Then a change into fresh, clean clothes. The soap and toilet paper match the bathroom tile.

A man watering the lawn with his garden hose bends down to the nozzle and gulps down several mouthfuls of cool water purified by the engineers at the community water plant.

A frail mother and her two bony kids hoist huge green glass bottles to the top of their heads, and commence walking down the hill from the walled town to the well two miles away, as the town well is polluted. The trail is alive with ox-carts and paisanos toting water. A line a block long is waiting at the well. Finally the mother and kids fill their bottles with the murky water, readjust the burden on top their heads and commence walking back up the hill . . .

On the buses Negro soldiers take the rear seats. At the stations Negro soldiers use separate rest rooms. In cafes Negro soldiers eat at labeled tables. In theatres and hotels Negro soldiers not allowed. In the cities Negro soldiers go to the labeled "colored districts."

Italy looks like a giant bull-dozer had started at the toe of the boot and plowed north to the Po Valley. Remember the French Goums and Jap-Americans, Australians and Sikhs, Jews and Brazilians, Poles and South Africans—all of us fighting side by side against the nazis. Men were treated equal over there. Not a bullet hole or bomb scar on the American continent, but look at the social scars of Jim Crowism, the political scars of the Poll Tax, and the economic scars of the slum areas. How does it feel I wonder to be a Negro soldier getting off the gang plank onto U. S. soil?

The national Capitol lighted up by searchlights that never had to search for enemy planes. The Command Post of Democracy.

Remember the people of Pisa crying on the streets the day they heard the news of Roosevelt's death? . . . The British House of Commons is already staffed with one hundred and twenty-eight servicemen . . . will it be two, four or six years before Capitol Hill yields to the political influence of U. S. veterans?

A radio announcer shrieks: "Here's the latest news, but first a word from our sponsor." Chewing gum jingles. Soap jingles. Skin lotion jingles. Beer jingles.

"PBS, your Army Expeditionary Station, brings you the world news: Auto workers strike, phone operators strike, oil workers strike, dock workers strike. London Conference fails. Congress shelves full-employment bill. This news was presented by PBS. Now a half-hour of uninterrupted music, featuring the works of Edvard Grieg."

AND

The veterans of the United Nations with their postwar eyes, postwar hearts, and postwar brains are going to build a world society the like of which even Franklin D. Roosevelt never dreamed.

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FREDERICK C. McKEE

LIVING MEMORIALS

WITH war's end, thousands of dollars will be spent in erecting memorials to the memory of those who made the supreme sacrifice for a free world. While it is a splendid thing to perpetuate their memory in brick and stone, how much better it is to create living memorials to carry on the task for which they fought and died!

Twenty-seven years ago other Americans gave their lives in a war which they thought was to end wars but, after their sacrifices, reaction and apathy set in and the sacrifices had to be repeated by another generation. Today we have an international organization, yet, as we saw from 1919 to 1939, such an organization is no stronger than the public opinion which supports it. While the new international mechanism is better than the League, the problems to be dealt with are much greater, particularly since science has at last unlocked atomic energy —a force which can ultimately produce an earthly paradise or extinguish the race.

Adequate control of this atomic energy will require more rapid relinquishing of national sovereignty than seemed possible a few months ago. And no country will feel secure until a suitable world government has been established. But how can such a world government hope to function democratically—for a peaceful world associated with fascist governments is a contradiction in terms—with great masses of people here and abroad almost totally ignorant of the complex problems of international relations?

FREE WORLD magazine is attacking this problem of education for world-understanding with eight editions published in English, French, Spanish, Chinese and Greek, totaling more than 200,000 in circulation. Editions in many other languages have been requested and these will be created as rapidly as funds can be secured. The Free World Association is doing an immense educational job all over the world. In order to make possible the full development of this great world-wide medium for adult education, a Free World Foundation is being planned to finance the founding of FREE WORLD editions and Free World movements in a important languages and nations.

Bequests can be made to this Foundation, creating for departed loved ones "Living Memorials" to carry on the great crusade for world freedom, world union and world peace. Donors can designate a particular edition to which they would like their contributions devoted because of ties of blood, in recognition of a particular need, or in gratitude to a gallant ally in our common cause.

The names of those for whom Memorials are created and the donors will be acknowledged in the American Edition of FREE WORLD and in the new edition to which the donor wishes the contribution devoted. Donors of Memorials of $10,000 or more will be received as Founders and Trustees. Donors of Memorials of $1,000 or more will be acknowledged as Sponsors in the new editions which they help to create. These memorials will be administered by an eminent Board of Trustees.*

Such "Living Memorials" will grow in influence with the development of the great work which they help to initiate in any particular nation.

There is no more adequate tribute to the name of those who have died than a "Living Memorial" carrying on the great crusade for freedom to which they gave their lives. Initial correspondence should be addressed to the undersigned at 724 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, New York.

FREDERICK C. McKEE
Chairman of the Finance Committee
of the Free World Association

** These Gifts are deductible from Income and State Taxes.*

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RADIO
THAT HASTENED VICTORY

by WENDELL SETHER

—the Nazis had no choice but to listen to the American radio in Europe. Here is a first-hand report on how that bitter pill was served them.

THE little radio studio buried in the cavernous heart of Film House, Soho, London, was crowded with a dozen perspiring men. Its air conditioning was overtaxed and the small soundproof room was crammed so tightly it resembled a stateroom scene in a Marx Brothers movie. The mass of men inside it was constantly in motion as announcers elbowed their way to the microphone to say a few words and then squirmed back to make room for the next speaker in the radio drama that was being enacted.

A small slight Englishman, in real life a journalist, stepped to the microphone, standing on tiptoes so his voice could be picked up. But when he spoke he didn't sound small and slight: his was the voice of a Churchill. Then he stepped aside. But a few moments later he was back at the mike as the voice of Lord Haw Haw. Two American army sergeants and a U.S. Navy yeoman—radio announcers in civilian life—crowded around the mike and narrated the show. A radio engineer doubled as the voice of General Eisenhower. Producers, rewrite men, even OWI Director of Broadcasting, Philip Cohen, doubled as voices of GIs, Soviet officers, Wehrmacht generals and resistance fighters.

The scene was ABSIE, the American Broadcasting Station in Europe, and the occasion was ABSIE's last wartime job—telling the people of Europe how the war was won. After V-E Day, ABSIE in a series of radio plays, dramatized the whole magnificent story of Allied victory for the people of Europe, and did it in several languages. All during the war, nazi censorship and the demands of military security had obscured much of the war's history, and there was much the Europeans didn't know. Presenting that story through radio plays was an ambitious project and it taxed the facilities of ABSIE's small staff. Lowell Clucas, chief of the English desk, and his assistant, Douglas Glaufarb, wrote the plays between their regular news broadcasts.

The plays called for a fairly large cast of voices—and ABSIE had no professional actors. Hence everybody except the janitor was drafted to become a voice for the ten plays that made up the series. ABSIE's studios were small, designed for news broadcasts. When the cast assembled for rehearsal or production, the effect was like broadcasting from inside a well-filled sardine can. But the job was done and the story of the war told as well as radio could tell it.

ABSIE was an essential part of the American war effort, a powerful arm of the psychological warfare forces that helped break German resistance and stimulated patriot action. As such it was built and operated under a cloak of secrecy that has been lifted only recently.

The day before ABSIE first went on the air on April 30, 1944, a London newspaper printed a story about this secret radio station being built by BBC and American engineers. It told of workmen being sworn to great secrecy and rushed blindfolded to the building where studios were under construction and numerous other precautions to prevent the enemy from learning ABSIE's location. The story however, just about gave the secret away in its concluding sentence: "And tomorrow the secret radio station on Wardour street in Soho will go on

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WENDELL SETHER'S *distinguished work with OWI in New York and London, and as chief editor of ABSIE has been glimpsed by* FREE WORLD *readers in former issues. We hope to bring you Mr. Sether again.*

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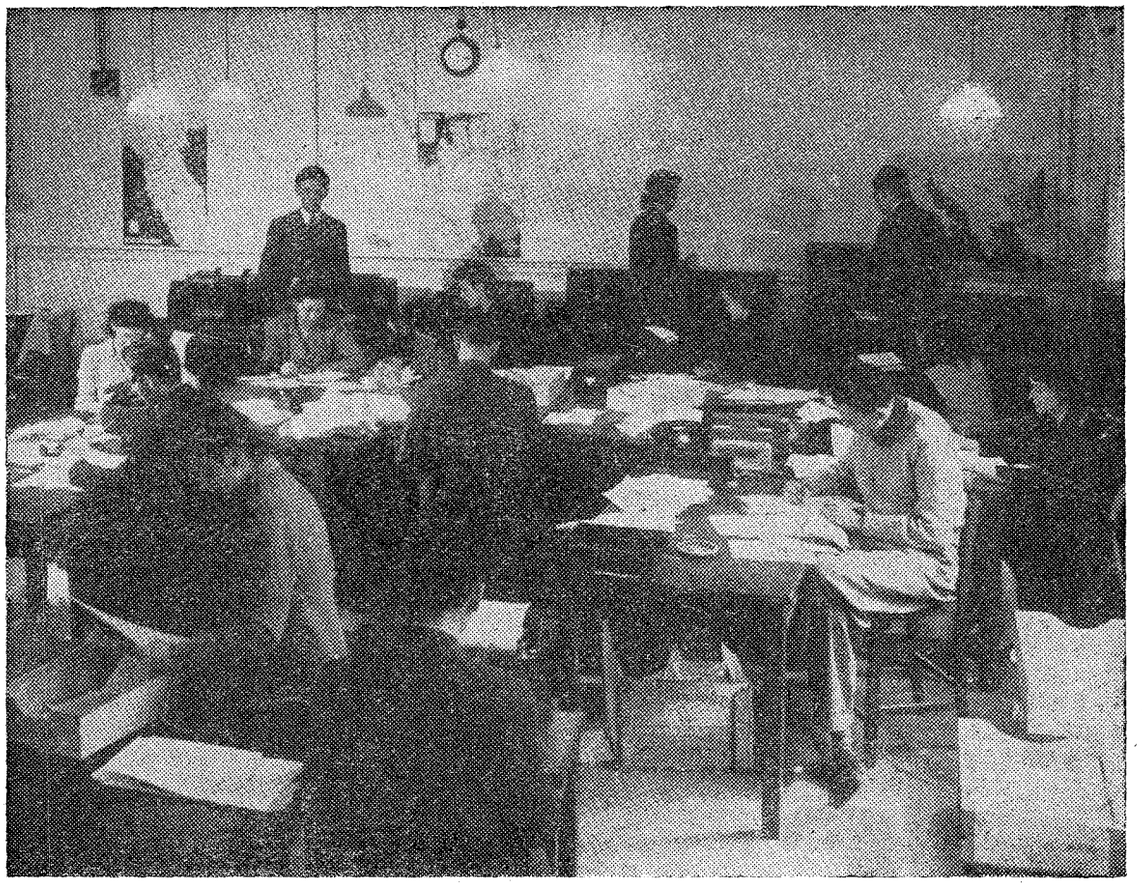

ABSIE, the American Broadcasting Station in London: From this little crowded newsroom came the broadcasts that were one of Goebbels' major headaches.
British Combine

the air . . ." ABSIE escaped bombing although the building next door received a direct hit while the studios were under construction.

Shortly after ABSIE began broadcasting, the notorious William Joyce—Lord Haw Haw—offered a comment over the German radio: "There is a powerful American radio station transmitting broadcasts from Britain in various languages, established for the reason that Mr. Roosevelt thinks British propaganda broadcasts inadequate or defective." As usual, Haw Haw was far from right. The United States began its medium wave broadcasting from London because its shortwave broadcasts from New York could not be heard clearly by the average European listener. Also, an American station was needed as part of invasion preparations and operations, and it had to be as close as possible to such news sources as SHAEF and the fighting fronts.

ABSIE joined with the BBC European Service in the psychological warfare offensive that was mounting against the Germans in 1944. The result was an integration of talent and resources as complete as the cooperation between the RAF and the United States Eighth Air Force against the common enemy. The combined effect on German morale was almost as devastating.

THAT ABSIE was one of Goebbels' major headaches was apparent from the start. The Germans had built up a huge network of radio jamming stations, and ABSIE hadn't been on the air more than a few hours before the jamming began. The Germans used several types of jamming devices, including one that emitted a continuous series of musical notes superimposed on each other, another with a "whiplash" sound effect, and others that consisted of just plain noise. But ABSIE's programs always got through. For one thing, the Germans never had enough jamming transmitters to blot out the combined radio broadcasts of the Allied nations: ABSIE was broadcasting on six wavelengths, the BBC and Russia broadcast on many more. The Germans were also losing transmitters through military action, and their own broadcasting demands required the use of scores of transmitters continuously.

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Since the German surrender we have also learned how foreign workers, employed at the German monitoring and engineering center near Berlin, frequently sabotaged the German jamming activities by reporting Allied broadcasts on phony wavelengths, so that part of the time the nazis were jamming nothing but thin air. Also, since listening to Allied stations was one of the German government's sources of information, the jamming engineers had to leave some wavelengths open so that official listeners could hear the news from Britain.

BUT the Germans tried to warn their own people against ABSIE, telling them not to listen to the "Amerikanische Agitation Sender in Europa" and spending a good deal of air time trying to refute ABSIE's broadcasts. One day last February Dr. Joseph Saal, German political commentator, began his radio talk: "An American broadcasting station in Europe last night gave the following report . . ." and then quoted ABSIE as saying that Goebbels had probably fled Berlin for refuge in the Alps. Then Dr. Saal began a labored explanation of how that very morning he had seen Goebbels going to his office in Berlin, determined and confident of ultimate victory. He even described Goebbels' herringbone overcoat, gray hat and gloves, which he said didn't at all resemble an Alpine costume.

When our troops came to France, Belgium, Holland, the people produced with pride their wireless sets with which they had listened to ABSIE and other Allied Radios. British Combine

The day after ABSIE announced details of the Yalta decisions and played it heavily on its German shows, the nazi radio reported that news "of this hate-inspired plan is spreading like wildfire over the Reich."

And well might the Germans have worried about the potency of ABSIE's broadcasts. Aware of the fact that in spite of the nazi ban on jazz music in the Reich, many German soldiers enjoyed a little hotlip or solid sending, ABSIE began a special music program for the Wehrmacht. (It was also a fact that the Wehrmacht's own radio stations broadcast more gay dance music than the German civilians were allowed to hear.)

ABSIE's Wehrmacht program featured Major Glenn Miller and his American band of the AEF, with Miller's famous arrangements. When Bing Crosby visited London he appeared on this show and crooned in German, using a special phonetic German script. Dinah Shore and many other popular singers sang in German for the Wehrmacht boys. German troops who listened could also hear songs, greetings and messages from their comrades who had been taken prisoner. It was later established through prisoner interrogations that many Germans who gave up said their decisions to surrender were influenced by ABSIE's surrender broadcasts.

The patriots of occupied Europe were avid listeners to ABSIE, as were United Nations fighters around the world. Members of the Underground movements frequently walked into ABSIE's studios to tell how they had listened secretly in occupied Europe.

ONCE on a Norwegian language broadcast ABSIE offered to transmit greetings from Norwegian seamen, soldiers and airmen fighting abroad, to their families in Norway. ABSIE expected only a few hundred letters, but instead there came a flood of 4,000 letters. They came from the mid-Pacific, Australia, South Africa, the Mediterranean and parts of Europe, startling evidence that ABSIE's shortwave broadcasts, although beamed on Europe, had bounced around the world. A correspondent who visited Oslo after the liberation said that

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The End of a Great Lie:

JOSEPH GOEBBELS

as the Russians found him in the court of the Propaganda Ministry in Berlin. The Germans tried to burn the bodies of Goebbels and his wife to prevent identification. ***Sovfoto***

one family in a small Norwegian town had received phone calls from twenty-two persons informing them that a son they thought dead had sent them greetings through ABSIE.

Thus ABSIE was more than an example of Anglo-American cooperation; it was an effort in which many nations shared and from which many benefited. When Denmark was liberated, the Danish state radio began relaying ABSIE's programs. When ABSIE learned that the French radio in Paris wasn't able to radiate its signal strongly throughout France because of the power shortage, ABSIE offered to relay one Paris program daily over its own powerful transmitters. The offer was accepted and for months, a daily program, "Ce Soir en France," was originated in Paris by Radio Diffusion Française, piped to London and broadcast all over France by ABSIE.

ABSIE's staff was a miniature United Nations with brilliant writers of many countries contributing. About half the personnel were American; there were dozens of British assistants in every capacity. Pierre Lazareff, brilliant Paris editor, was in charge of the French section. Gottfried Mann, son of Thomas Mann, was a leading commentator on German programs. Many of ABSIE's writers and speakers were refugees from nazi tyranny and had relatives and friends in occupied Europe. They worked with an inspiration and devotion that can easily be imagined.

Despite its cosmopolitan make-up, ABSIE spoke with an American accent and flavor that was as characteristic as apple pie a-la-mode. Its chief editor was Templeton Peck, former Los Angeles newspaper editor and public relations director for Stanford University. Besides being an instrument of warfare, ABSIE explained America's war aims, achievements and problems. It tried to explain the complexities of American politics to European listeners—why we allowed such great criticism of President Roosevelt and the war effort. These and many other things about America so mystifying to many Europeans were told in clear, direct terms.

ABSIE is off the air now and its staff has been "redeployed." But the millions of listeners it gained throughout Europe will long remember its electrical call signal—the first seven notes of "Yankee Doodle"—and its American accent on news.

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Australia plans for full Employment

by A. C. QUARITCH WALES

—because the whole world searches for full employment FREE WORLD presents this chapter in that dramatic story—

NOW that "full employment" programs are everywhere on trial, what is being planned and done in this direction in Australia, whose problems in many ways resemble those of America, is naturally of interest. More than 900,000 men and women have served in the Australian fighting forces and 700,000 civilians have been in war work. That means 1,600,000 of a total population of only 7,260,000 have to be fitted back into a civilian economy. It is an immense undertaking but one that is certainly being tackled with admirable vigor.

The basis of the Australian government's planning to secure full employment has been set out in a White Paper. It sees its responsibility to be the provision for the framework of a full-employment economy within which the private operation of both firms and individuals can be carried on. Full employment is taken to include not only that of persons but also of machinery and natural resources. Objectives are higher living standards, better social services, more factories and houses. And basically the Government's contention is that full employment can only be maintained so long as total expenditure provides a market for all the goods and services turned out by fully employed Australian men and women. How can this necessary expenditure be achieved?

According to the White Paper, "governments should accept the responsibility for stimulating spending on goods and services to the extent necessary to sustain full employment." Total expenditure, of course, includes public and private spending (both capital and consumptive) but the stress is laid on public capital expenditure which it is thought can best be controlled. Thus government policy will be primarily directed to expanding Australia's capital equipment such as slum clearance, housing, libraries, hospitals, railways, irrigation, water conservation, reforestation, power and harbors. Taxation is the means by which these projects will be financed and adequate taxation yield depends, it is realized, on a great expansion of the export trade.

It will be seen that this plan of compensatory spending stems from Lord Keynes' well known economic theory which was the basis of the American New Deal program. Consequently it has much in common with Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace's policy as expressed in his book *Sixty Million Jobs.* And, like it, the Australian government's program has come in for its full share of comment both favorable and otherwise. Opinions vary all the way from the "big step in the right direction" of Mr. L. Austern, Vice-President of the New South Wales Trades and Labor Council, to the criticism of the Sydney *Morning Herald,* leading opposition paper, which states the plan is "impracticable and intolerable in any free community."

IMPORTANT measures for the immediate period include a national housing program, public works, a plan for land settlement, a training scheme for ex-service personnel, and a nationwide Employment Service. And, in partial agreement with Sir William Beveridge's assertion that "full employment cannot be won and held without a great extension of the responsibilities and powers of the State," the Government admits that during the transition period some key controls must be retained. These include price control, a system of pri-

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MR. WALES' *name is a familiar one to* FREE WORLD *readers. Some of them may also know him for his book, "Years of Blindness," a mature contribution to the understanding of the changing Orient. His interpretation of Pacific affairs is based upon long study and years of residence and travel in the Far East.*

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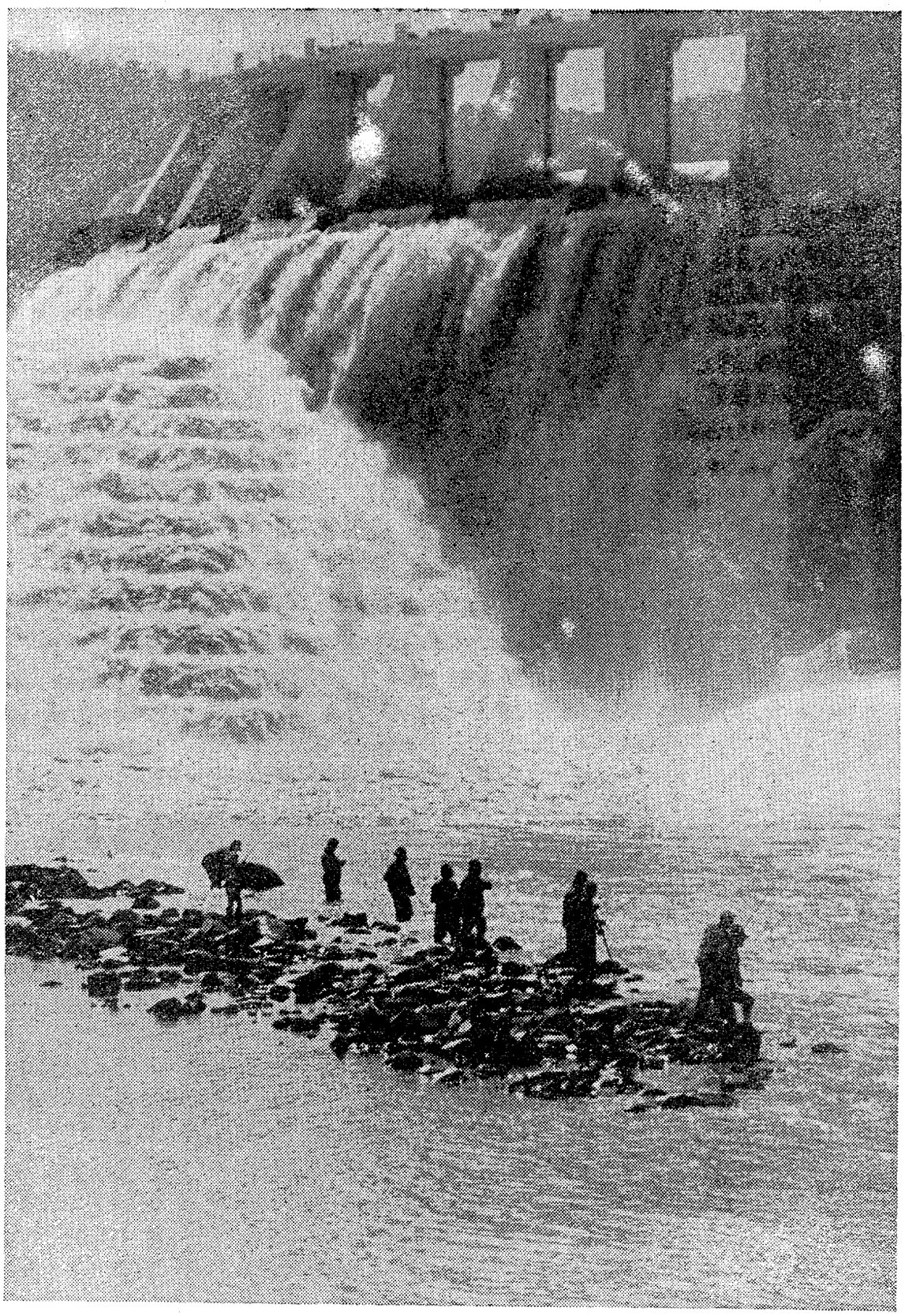

Eildon Weir river in Victoria is dammed for irrigation and power. Most Australian rivers in the east take a short plunge into the sea. Australian engineers are thinking in terms of diverting the course of several streams westward—which means landward—for use in now semi-arid grazing country or wastelands.

Australian Information Office

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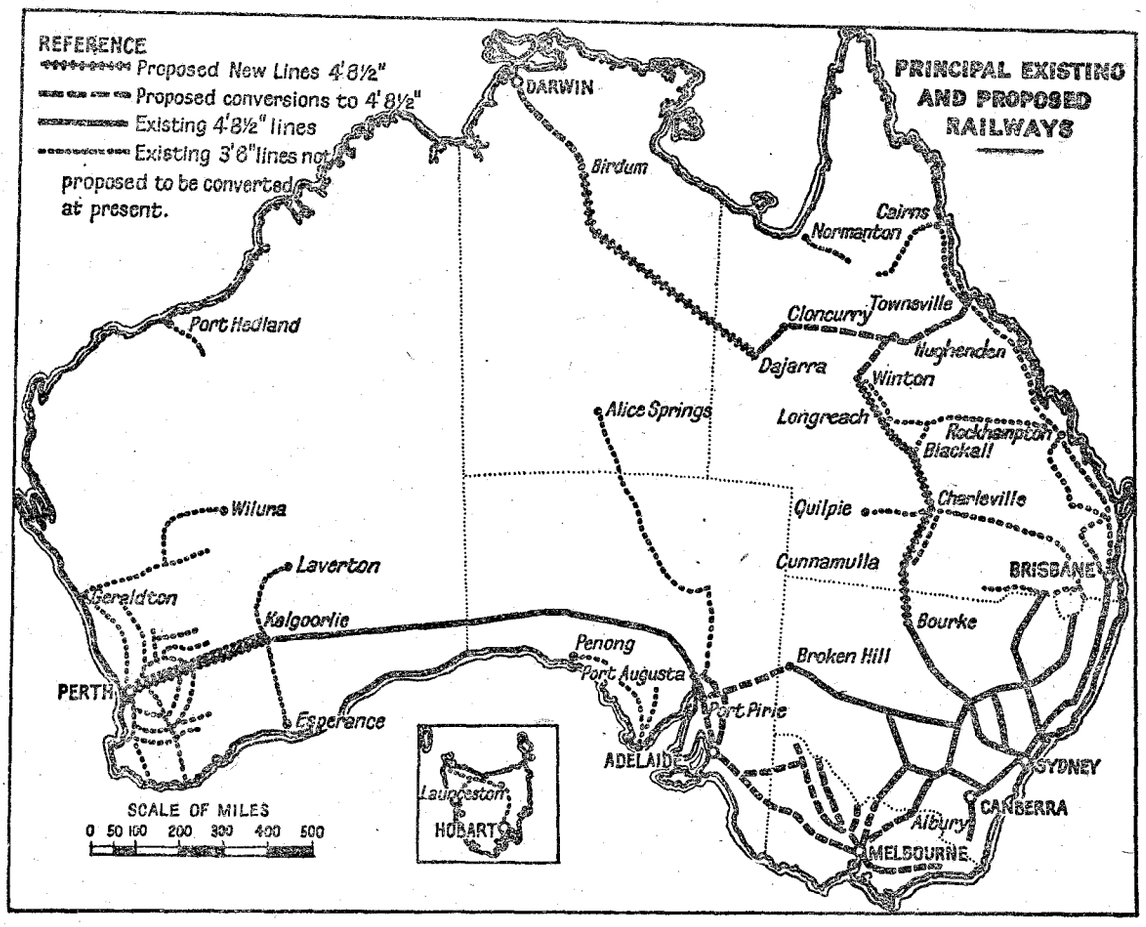

Standardizing of Australia's diverse railroad track gauges will provide many jobs. Originally privately built, the lack of uniformity in railroad gauges slows shipping time and increases costs.

orities for materials in short supply, some control over capital expenditure and over imports and foreign exchange. While the Australian government is retaining control of factories "basic for adequate defense policy," other government-owned factories are being made available for private industry.

Of actual legislation giving practical effect to the policy, of first importance is the Re-establishment and Employment Act. The benefits are available for servicemen and women, civilians attached to the services and displaced war workers. Members of Empire forces domiciled in Australia before joining up also get benefits.

Demobilization is expected to be completed within a year. The "first in, first out" discharge system has been adopted. The older and married men of long service, however, get preference. Not only must ex-servicemen get their old jobs back if they want them, but they must receive pay which includes increases to which they would have been entitled had they worked during the time they were at war. Reinstatement committees have been set up to adjudicate in case of dispute. When several apply for a job for which all are suitable the one who enlisted first must get it. Job preference for ex-servicemen is compulsory for both private and government employers, but is limited to seven years so as not to handicap the rising generation which will include many of the children of former servicemen.

Under the same act, the Government has embarked on a big retraining scheme. It will fit ex-servicemen and women for civil life, with special training for skilled workers. Training allowances vary from £3.5 to £5.5 ($10.70 to $17.20) weekly, the trainee to be placed in employment at the full wage fixed by the industrial authorities. The widespread Employment Service has vocational guidance organizations and also administers the Unemployment and Sickness Benefit Act which applies to the whole population. Special training is provided for disabled ex-servicemen and under the regu-

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lations any class of employer may be required to employ a specified proportion of disabled men. The direct wartime controls on labor have been lifted.

The discharged servicemen who worked on their own account or were employers before the war, can get loans up to £500 ($1,625) to re-establish themslves in business, or £1000 ($3,250) if they wish to take up farming. If they prefer to obtain farms privately, rather than take advantage of the comprehensive soldier settlement schemes being operated by the Australian states, they are given assistance.

MOST characteristic of the Australian program are the huge public works projects, in connection with which very definite steps have just been taken by the National Works Council. Sitting in conjunction with the States' Conference of Premiers at Canberra, it has agreed to a works expenditure totalling $625,000,000 and has decided to place orders for plant and materials immediately.

High priority is being given to works connected with housing. With an acute shortage, estimated at 300,000 units, the Government has an immediate and a long-term housing program. Under the former, the building of 50,000 homes in the first year has been approved, three-fifths of this number being Government-sponsored dwellings for low income families, while the rest are being built by public and private agencies with federal aid where required. The houses are being allocated in accordance with need, a purchaser of a government-built house being required to make a down payment of not less than 5 per cent of the cost of both house and land.

The States' Conference of Premiers decided that work on the unification of Australian railway gauges should begin immediately. The diversity of gauges has hitherto been a great handicap to Australian communications. Now conversion to a standard 4 feet 8½ inch gauge will be the greatest engineering work Australia has ever undertaken. It is expected that completion of the first stage, estimated to cost $247,000,000 will take 11 years. The complete project includes the building of a strategic railway from Freemantle, Western Australia, to Darwin, Northern Territory, running through Broken Hill, New South Wales and Central Queensland. Until the states' governments have agreed as to the division of costs, the Commonwealth government has agreed to shoulder all preliminary expenses.

Despite the growth of industrialization in the cities, the Australian government recognizes that there is a pressing need for the reclamation of vast stretches of waste land for agriculture and grazing purposes. This will make possible the renewed immigration that Australia so badly requires. It will immediately employ much labor. The Stirling Dam in Western Australia, to be the highest earthen dam on the continent, will, with four other dams already built, bring 70,000 acres under irrigation in that region. In South Australia construction has been begun on a 240-mile pipe line which will carry 1,200,000,000 gallons of water a year from the Murray River to the western shores of Spencer's Gulf and 900,000,000 gallons annually to the northern districts of South Australia.

In Tasmania the completion of Butler's Gorge Dam, now under construction, will make an important addition to the hydro-electric power already available from the water conservation works located at the lakes on the central plateau. With installed machinery capacity already totalling 170,000 h.p., immediate extensions include additional units totalling 78,000 h.p., a useful supplement to the power now available to Tasmanian industry.

Another project that will both aid full employment and ensure Australia's security is the rebuilding of Port Darwin. Almost entirely destroyed by Japanese bombing it is to be rebuilt as a big air and naval base at Australia's front door. At the same time the Government is planning better utilization of that vast Northern Territory hinterland whose 523,000 square miles (a sixth of Australia) at present supports less than 7,000 whites and about 14,000 aborigines. A gradual increase in the density of settlement is being planned. It is belived that if the country is fenced and water is conserved, 2,000 square miles are sufficient for a sheep station. The Barkly Tableland is good sheep country and, if a way can be found to exterminate the rapacious dingoes (wild dogs), it is believed that the Territory can support 3,750,000 sheep instead of the 32,795 now grazed.

So it will be seen that the Australian Commonwealth government is already implementing its theoretical planning with courageous action. The working out of the program, necessarily dependent on continued cooperation of the state governments, skillful handling of the problems of reconversion and labor conditions, must await the test of the next two or three years.

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German princes at a sports festival in Berlin in 1934. Fourth from the left is Crown Prince Wilhelm giving the nazi salute.

Acme phot.

NAZI PRINCES ARE WAR CRIMINALS TOO

by ALBERT NORDEN

—a distinguished ex-deputy to the German Reichstag reveals that Germany's top aristocrats had a hand in nazism—

TALKING about the criminals of World War II, one usually means the nazi leaders, generals and some industrial bigshots, and then in silence overlooks one category, the very mention of which seems embarrassing for various reasons, but which should by rights also come before the tribunals: I mean those circles of the German high nobility that made common cause with the nazi gangsters.

The 1918 revolution in Germany unpardonably not only omitted to make the princes harmless but it left them their immense fortunes, to rank amongst the richest of the rich. These former kings, these dukes, princes and counts were financially powerful and were influential supporters of the nazi counter revolution. Hitler proved himself the most successful fascist demagogue and the most skilfull mass-catcher, but he also won over the German princes.

To establish the guilt of German princes is easier than to bring them to justice. They all have influential relatives in many Allied countries. For instance the Duke Charles Edward of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha is one of Queen Victoria's grandsons and therefore related to the English royal family. His daughter, Princess Sybille married the Swedish Crown Prince's eldest son, heir to the Swedish throne.

Prince August William of Prussia and the four Princes of Hesse are great-grandsons of Queen Victoria.

Stately King George of Greece is father-in-law of Prince Christophe of Hesse, an SS-leader.

Prince Bernard of the Netherlands, Crown-

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Princess Juliana's consort, is closely related to the nazi leader Prince Ernest Leopold of Lippe.

And Prince John Henry of Pless was fortunate enough to have as his mother a Cornwallis-West, kin to the Earl de la Warr.

The Princes of Hesse were clever enough to become kin of certain moneyed circles in Britain and the United States. The Princess of Hesse-Philippstal-Barchfeld, aunt of the SS Prince of Hesse-Philippstal, is the former Elizabeth Reid Rogers, of Jackson, Tenn. Prince Louis Herman of Hesse, a cousin of the SS prince and himself a nazi leader, married in 1937—at the time when Chamberlain aided Hitler and Mussolini to strangle the Spanish Republic—Miss Margaret Campbell Geddes, whose father was President of the Rio Tinto Mines Company, in Spain, and a powerful supporter of Chamberlain's appeasement policy.

Besides the SS princes the German high aristocracy harbors still another group of war criminals—the fabulously wealthy Silesian aristocrats from whose ranks the imperial regime drew many of its diplomats. The Princes of Pless, of Henckell-Donnersmarck, the Counts of Ballestrem, Stolberg, Schaffgotsch, Thiele-Winkler are at the same time the biggest Silesian landowners, grain wholesale dealers, mine owners and kings of the Silesian heavy industry. Viscount D'Abernon, describes in his memoirs his visit in 1924, to one of the castles of the Prince of Pless. He notes no less than 300 valets "without counting many more in the garden. An English butler, numerous footmen in powder, a *chasseur* in top boots and uniform who stands behind the prince's chair" . . . This feudal world of the 18th century, maintained by revenues from the most modern capitalistic industries, was tremendously enriched during Hitler's World War.

These Silesian aristocrats, who for religious reasons—they are mostly Catholics—did not hurry into the SS, did not disdain to play the part of a carrion kite in this war and took their share in the spoliation of Poland. After Hitler's armies conquered Poland, Prince Pless founded in Polish-Upper Silesia the "Fuerstlich Pless'sche Bergwerke-Company" with a capital of 40 millions Marks. Together with IG Farben, Pless acquired the big coal mines of the "Fuerstengrube" as well as the electric works in Cattovice. Prince Henckell of Donnersmarck, Count Ballestrem and Count Schaffgotsch shared with each other the huge Polish estate of Wirek Kopalnie. Prince Henckell plundered furthermore part of the Polish zinc mines, whereas Count Ballestrem in cooperation with Krupp, the cannon king, took possession of the following plants: the "Friedens-Huettenwerke," the "Mine and Foundry Works," and the "Ferrum" works in Cattovice, two new boiler and machine tool plants in Sosnovice and Dombrova, the "Upper Silesian

Three princes who helped the nazis. Left, Prince August Wilhelm, son of ex-Kaiser Wilhelm II, who declared in 1939 that the Hohenzollern family was solidly behind Hitler. Center, Duke Charles Edward of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, former head of the German Red Cross in his nazi uniform. Right, Josias von Waldeck und Pyrmont, commander of an SS Elite Guard. This picture is dated 1942.

Acme phot.
Black Star photo.

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Locomotive Works" at Krenau, and a plant at Laurahuette.

Throughout the last years, 90 per cent of the workers in all those factories and mines taken away from the Poles, were foreign slave workers, imported from the Soviet Union, Poland and other countries. The trust of Count Schaffgotsch alone employed some 25,000 Polish forced laborers.

Justice demands that the Silesian princes and counts be accused and tried as war criminals for robbery and for mass exploitation of forced foreign labor on the same footing as SA and SS members are to be tried.

The Allied list of the war criminals should be increased with at least the following names:

(1) Josias, Prince of Waldeck and Pyrmont, general of the SS and member of Hitler's Reichstag. He started as an officer in the notorious "Freikorps," which in 1919 was first thrown against German workers and then against the Poles by the Weimar Republic. In 1929 Josias joined the SS and as early as 1930 he already held high office in the immediate environs of Heinrich Himmler. During the period of the bloodiest nazi terror in France the Prince was Gestapo chief there.

(2) Charles Edward, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, cousin of Josias—and of the British royal house. Amongst the German princes he was the first to patronize the nazis whose movement he joined many years before Hitler came to power. Nazi Reichstag deputy, he was made a general of the nazi motor corps and President of the German Red Cross. In the latter capacity he visited the notorious concentration camp of Buchenwald in December 1938, and reported to the International Red Cross, of which he is Vice-President, that all stories of ill treatment at Buchenwald were malevolent inventions. And yet this at a time, Buchenwald was, after Dachau, the camp that had the highest number of killings per day.

(3) The Princes of Hesse. Prince Philip of Hesse, liaison officer between fascists and nazis since Mussolini's march on Rome, was promoted by Goering who made him governor of the province of Hesse-Nassau, general of the SA and member of the Prussian State Council. In other words, he was a high dignitary of the nazi regime. Of his three brothers, Richard became a general in the nazi motor corps, Wolfgang because a colonel of the SA and district president, whereas Prince Christoph held high rank in the Reich Air Ministry; at the same time he was major-general on the staff of Heinrich Himmler. Cousin Prince William of Hesse-Philippstal had quite a career in the SS too.

(4) August William, Prince of Prussia, son of the last German Kaiser. He was the most important representative of the House of Hohenzollern in the nazi party, member of the Reichstag, general of the SA, Reich-speaker for the party. This writer, from the platform of the Prussian Diet in 1932, saw this prince, whose receding forehead is accentuated by his straight brown hair's flat pompadour, take part in the nazi faction's sudden attack on the deputies of the Left.

(5) The Princes Stefan and Frederik Christian of Schaumburg-Lippe. Stefan was high-ranking leader of the SS and until 1942 First Secretary of the German Embassy in Buenos-Aires. Prince Frederik Christian, member of Propaganda Minister Goebbels' personal staff, general of the SA, was also division chief on the staff of the Gauleiter in charge of the nazi party's foreign branch.

(6) Hereditary Prince Ernest Leopold of Lippe. In his capacity as "Reichsstellenleiter" Ernest Leopold held high office in the nazi party. A relative, Prince Charles Christian of Lippe-Weissenfeld, nazi squire (Land-rat) and colonel in the SS, also needs listing.

(7) Prince Nicholas Frederick William of Oldenburg, SA. colonel of cavalry. Several of his children were also active members in the nazi movement. In 1940—after Hitler had conquered Poland—this princely family received a 13,000 acre estate near Poznan. Nicholas' sisters are married to the above-mentioned Princes Stefan of Schaumburg-Lippe and Josias of Waldeck respectively.

This list of German princes who rank prominently in the nazi party is by no means complete. They were mostly high-ranking officers in the SA and SS and since these organizations were entrusted with the extermination of "undesirable" European peoples, these individuals must answer for their actions before the Allied tribunals.

Under no circumstances must full investigation of war crimes and their punishment be prevented because some of these criminals are related to powerful hereditary or financial princes in Allied countries. These people have fattened for hundreds of years on the German people and during the last decade, used their position and prestige to increase the misery of the whole world.

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editor's note:

Faithful to its tradition of furnishing a free forum for discussion, FREE WORLD *in this issue presents two viewpoints on the burning question of Palestine. The first is by Dr. Nahum Goldmann, in his dual capacity as Chairman of the Executive of the World Jewish Congress, and as Political Representative in the United States of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. The second viewpoint is presented by Abdel Rahman Azzam Bey, Secretary of the Arab League. Further facets of this question, so vital that men are killing each other over it in Palestine at this writing, will be presented in future issues of* FREE WORLD.

FREE WORLD *desires however to make clear that its editorial position deprecates arguments based on blood and soil. Much more compelling, within the* FREE WORLD *concept, is that* there are *thousands upon thousands of human beings who have fled from persecution or are homeless due to war. These people must be given a place to live—that is the important fact.* FREE WORLD *believes it to be the duty of the United Nations as a body—undeterred by threats from any quarters whatsoever—to meet the compelling necessity of providing a home for the one and one-half million of homeless European Jews.* FREE WORLD *will welcome further opinions on how this can be accomplished.*

I.

THE JEWISH PROBLEM MUST BE SOLVED NOW

by NAHUM GOLDMANN

IN the last few weeks the Jewish problem, one of the most urgent and tragic of our times, has again claimed headlines in the daily press. And yet it is not a new problem. The reason for its immediacy is that with war's end the extent of the Jewish tragedy has become known. Facts so horrible and fantastic that millions refuse to believe them, have become so evident that the conscience of even this not too sensitive generation feels obligated to find a solution to the problem.

That which we see today is the result of two historical facts: The age-old Jewish homelessness, and its aggravation by the nazi extermination policy. It is only because of the homelessness of the Jewish people, dispersed all over the world, persecuted and discriminated against in many parts of it, that Hitler's policy of annihilation could have been undertaken at all. As a result, the world now faces a Jewish problem so urgent there can be no further delay in solving it. There are two aspects involved: (1) the immediate problem of placing Jews surviving in the formerly Hitler-dominated countries of Europe, the remnant of over seven million, and (2) the fundamental problem of normalizing the status of the Jewish people.

Let us first analyze the immediate problem. Approximately six million Jews were killed or starved to death by the nazis during the war. Today there are one and one-half million Jews in Europe.

The position of these surviving Jews is one of indescribable misery and poverty. They have lost everything—not only their capital and property, but their most essential possessions. They have neither clothing nor dwelling places. Everything was taken by the nazis or the collaborationists to whom the nazis turned over Jewish property. One might think that with the physical extermination of 80 per cent of European Jewry, there would be no problem for those who survived. But it is one of the most glaring and tragic manifestations of the deeply rooted character of anti-semitism and of the anomaly of the Jewish position, that, although six million have been exterminated, the problem of the one and one-half million survivors is greater and more acute than it was before nazi liquidation.

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Three Reasons

There are many reasons for this, all largely bound up with the situation prevailing in Europe generally. Ten years of nazi propaganda, organized and conducted with the devilish thoroughness so characteristic of the Germans, have left a tremendous mark on the European continent. As every observer of Europe today knows, the defeat of the nazi armies is not synonymous with the elimination of nazism. No part of nazi philosophy made a deeper impression on occupied countries than their anti-semitic ideology—added proof, if this is necessary, of the inherent existence of a Jewish problem in countries where anti-semitism had not been manifest for decades.

Another reason for the present extreme anti-semitism is that in the present European civil war between the forces of reaction and those of progress and revolution, the Jewish problem is used for their purposes by the reactionary forces, as it always has been. This technique of using the Jews as scape goats is a classic method of fascism and yet it is gaining momentum for another reason—the looting of Jewish property. Jewish property was not confiscated only by the nazis themselves. Their collaborationists shared the spoils with the nazis, and they and many others acquired "legally" or illegally, the property of Jews. Surviving Jews naturally claim the return of their property, thus clashing with the vested interests of those who now have it. For that reason, many governments, though well-intentioned in principle, are reluctant to hasten the process of the restoration of Jewish property, fearing to antagonize those who benefited from the nazis. The amount of Jewish property in Europe, which had been owned by the millions who were massacred, leaving no heirs, runs into very high figures. Some governments are using this property for their own purposes, violating their moral obligation to use part of it at least for the rehabilitation of surviving Jews. And all this is going on in a Europe where each group and each individual finds the fight for survival much more brutal than it was before the war. There is fanaticism on the one hand, and immoral cynicism on the other. In a continent which has witnessed the extermination of more than twenty million people, there is callousness regarding the misery and death of another million. In such an atmosphere, there is no chance for the million and a half surviving Jews to rehabilitate themselves or to start a new, decent life.

Jews Can't Go Back

These are only the bare facts, and do not take into consideration the psychological factors which cannot be overlooked—the refusal of many Jews to start their lives anew in old surroundings. To give one example—60,000 Polish Jews are in camps in the American and British occupation zones. Earl Harrison's report, a product of American humanitarianism at its best, has drawn public attention to this aspect of the European Jewish problem. Polish Jews could legally return to Poland. The Polish government is eager to have them back. They refuse to go, not only because of conditions in Poland, but because they do not want to continue to live in countries where their children were gassed and their parents and relatives exterminated—where memories would haunt them and ruin their lives forever.

Among the majority of surviving European Jews, no feeling is stronger or more passionate than the desire to make a new start in a community where they can live as Jews, and where a repetition of the horrible experiences through which they have lived will be impossible either for themselves or their children, or their children's children.

This means that in order to solve the problem of European Jewry at least half of them will have to emigrate. Not all of them want to leave Europe. Many prefer to remain to make their contributions to the rebuilding of Europe. But on the basis of all reports, one is entitled to state that at least half of European Jewry want to leave and most of these want to go to Palestine.

Palestine the Solution

Palestine is the only place for them. This is not only because after five years of nazi persecution they have become more passionate Jews than ever before, and want to escape discrimination and persecution, but it is also because of the objective conditions. Realistically speaking, there is no other refuge for them. It is easy to take a map of the world and find empty spots, but these are meaningless in the light of realities. Does anyone seriously believe that countries like the United States, Canada, or England would open their gates to Jewish mass immigration? Only a year ago, a prominent Canadian liberal leader and statesman told me that, while in principle he favored Jewish immigration to Canada, 10,000 Jewish immigrants would become the paramount internal political issue of Canada. Latin America? In the last ten years a few thousand Jews going

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to one or another Latin American country created Jewish problems in each of them.

Is the world interested in creating new Jewish problems, which must follow if Jewish emigration from Europe is dispersed and decentralized? Or should not this generation, after the terrible lesson Hitler has taught of what Jewish homelessness means, discharge its moral responsibility of solving the Jewish problem once and for all?

Palestine opened to European Jews solves the question of a Jewish home. There but remains to normalize their status by recognizing Palestine as a Jewish state.

I know there is strong Arab opposition to this solution. I don't believe it can be brushed aside as meaningless, though its importance is greatly exaggerated. There is a legitimate Arab nationalism justified in its demand for the independence of Arab states. But Arab nationalism of today is directed and represented by some of the most reactionary oligarchies and cliques in the world. An investigation of the internal policies and development, or rather lack of development, in the Arab states, would result in a great many surprises. And in any case the Arabs are the spoiled children of the two World Wars. They contributed very little to victory in the last war and nothing to the defeat of Hitler in this one. But, because of the strategic importance of the Middle East and the natural inclination of colonial administrations and imperialistic policies to play along with such reactionary, oligarchic groups, the importance of the Arab world has been inflated into ridiculous proportions.

To think that the Arab world could checkmate a decision of the major powers to solve the Jewish problem by giving Palestine to the Jews, is pure nonsense. None of the Arab states has an army in the modern sense of the word, and all the threats of the Arab League in this respect should be taken for what they are: empty threats without the stature of serious arguments.

The Jewish problem must be primarily decided on a moral level. And the tragedy is that it has become a game of power politics. I do not deny that there is some moral justification to the claim of the Arabs to retain their majority status in Palestine. But there is greater justification of the Jewish claim for a real solution to their 2,000 year old tragedy.

For the Arab world as a whole, Palestine is of no decisive importance. It was never their cultural center. As for land area, Palestine is the size of New Hampshire plus half of Delaware, and represents only 1 per cent of the total area of the Arab states. The nations of the world, in addition to the Jews, have the full right, in the light of what has happened in the last decade, to ask the Arabs to make this contribution to the solution of this most tragic problem of our day. And if the Arabs refuse, to impose such a solution, as other solutions of territorial conflicts, boundaries, etc., will have to be imposed upon peoples and countries which will never settle these problems by themselves. All peoples must today accept the decisions of a higher tribunal, supported by force, if necessary, because otherwise there will never be a lasting peace.

Warning to the World

The solution of the Jewish problem cannot be postponed. Jews have waited for many years; have seen hundreds of thousands of their people massacred because Palestine was not opened to them. The survivors in camps and in other countries in Europe cannot be asked to wait until conflicts of interests among the great powers have been settled. If foreign offices and colonial offices make so much fuss about Arab feelings and Arab threats, they should start to take into consideration the mood and feeling of Jews all over the world, and of 600,000 in Palestine. The Jewish people have not much more to lose and a people fighting with its back to the wall has the courage of despair.

Let there be no mistake. Jews will go to Palestine with British entry certificates or without them. And this generation of European Jews, which has survived five years of Hitler and Gestapo agents, will not be afraid of the agents of the British Government who may try to prevent their entry into Palestine.

Good will and firmness are necessary on the part of leading powers. It is not only a British problem. America must share the responsibility, and so must Soviet Russia. The Jewish problem is an international one. It burdens the conscience of the world and is a political liability to the world. A firm decision on the part of the major powers, endorsed by the United Nations, will end the tension. The Arabs will protest. But when they know the decision is final, they will be ready to work out good neighborly relations which are of equal interest to Palestine Jews and the Arab world. Only a speedy decision will eliminate the current situation where threats and counter-threats, propaganda and counter-propaganda, muddy the waters. A Jewish state in Palestine is the solution to the Jewish problem. That problem must be solved as a whole, and it must be solved now.

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2.

THE ARAB POSITION

by **ABDEL RAHMAN AZZAM BEY**

THE Arab world today consists of all the countries lying along the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean and Red Seas. From time immemorial, long before Islam, this region was receiving wave after wave of Arab and kindred settlers from the Arabian peninsula. With Islam and its message came the most important of these waves thirteen centuries ago and by its impact on the peoples of the Byzantine world, with which it fused racially and culturally, it produced the Arab empire and civilization. When the Arab empire passed away, Arab community in all these countries remained held together by common speech from the Persian Gulf to the Straits of Gibraltar, by the common way of life inherited from one civilization and the consciousness of being partly, at least, descended from Arab stock. It went on receiving more waves from the original Arab home as well as expanding in new directions and Arabizing new peoples in Africa even in time of political eclipse. This Arab world comprises today some seventy million people and occupies one of the most important regions of the earth both economically and strategically.

Although under the Ottoman Empire in its later days the Arabs enjoyed a considerable measure of autonomy and were beginning to be treated by the Turks as partners in imperial government, a movement of national liberation started in the 19th century inspired by the revival of Arabic language and Arab culture and aimed at the independence and unity of the Arab world. For these two aims the Arabs under the Sherif of Mecca fought in the last war on the side of the Allies. But they did not obtain the satisfaction of either aspiration at the end of that war. Instead, that part of the Arab world lying east of the Mediterranean was broken up into a number of separate states all of which were placed under British or French mandates. In addition, Zionists were promised certain rights in Palestine by Britain and with the support and endorsement of the United States which were incompatible both with the promises made to the Arabs and with the fundamental rights of the Arabs as guaranteed in principle in Wilson's Fourteen Points and the Covenant of the League of Nations.

In the period between two wars, however, all these countries of the eastern Arab world with the exception of Palestine, succeeded in obtaining independence and set up constitutional national governments. In Palestine the Zionists opposed the development of self-governing institutions since they were a minority, and this opposition together with the general results of the impact of Zionism on the country, prevented the Arabs there from achieving independence achieved by their compatriots in all the other countries. By 1942 seven Arab states—namely Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan and Yemen had come into being. The aspiration toward independence thus realized in these countries, a move was made to realize the second aspiration, namely unity, by the formation of the Arab League for mutual assistance and cooperation in all common matters. Britain, realizing the strong desire of the Arabs for this and wisely deciding to swim with the stream of Arab aspirations rather than oppose it, gave the movement its support. The covenant of the League was signed in Cairo on March 22, and the League came into being on May 10 of this year.

THE League expresses the fundamental unity of the Arab world and the desire of the Arabs of today to revive their community and make new contributions to civilization. It stands for the same ideals in a modern form that were the inspiration of Arab civilization at its apogee. It believes in freedom for and cooperation with all nations on the basis of equality, mutual tolerance and common welfare. It is actuated by no spirit of racial exclusiveness or sterile chauvinism. The League is necessary both in the interests of Arab countries themselves and in the interests of the world at large, both economically and politically. It will in the first place help to ensure peace and stability of the lands it embraces and secondly will make possible the economic development of these lands

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as a whole and so enable Arab countries, which in many ways are complementary to each other, to solve many of their economic problems and thus improve the social conditions and standards of living of their peoples. The prosperity of the Arab world would also redound to the advantage of other countries, particularly the industrial nations who would find in it a better market.

But it is obvious that a peaceful, prosperous, united and strong Arab bloc will be not only a source of good to its own inhabitants but also an asset to the world. A weak and divided Arab world occupying one of the most vital regions of the earth would, by inviting the rivalries of the great powers and encouraging them to compete in it for spheres of influence, be a constant source of international tension and might cause serious trouble. The surest guarantee against this danger for the world and those countries that have special interests in the Middle East is that the Arab world should be prosperous, united and strong, on friendly terms with all but subject to none and able to defend itself and maintain its integrity. Although the League is not composed of independent Arab states only, it is naturally interested in the aspirations of all Arab countries and concerned that these countries, whatever their status today, shall achieve their freedom.

AMONG the most important political questions concerning the Arab League now is that of Palestine, which is an essentially Arab country and an integral and vital part of the Arab world, holding in it a spiritually unique position and one of the utmost importance geographically and strategically, lying as it does between Egypt, Syria and Iraq. In 1918 Palestine had been an Arab country for something like 13 centuries. It lay at the core of the Arab region for whose independence and unity the Arabs had fought. Its population was ninety per cent Arab. But in defiance of all these facts, and of President Wilson's Fourteen Points and of the principles of the League of Nations Covenant as well, the wishes and rights of this indigenous Arab population were not respected and promises were made to the Zionists under pressure of international power groups whose implementation has caused very serious detriment to the rights and interests of the Arab population and brought almost continual conflict into the Middle East.

The essence of the whole question is the clash between the rights and interests of the indigenous population on the one hand and the challenge to it of a mixed and alien immigrant population, seeking to submerge it, on the other. The opposition of the Arabs to Zionism does not spring either from religious or racial animosity and has nothing to do with anti-semitism, but is entirely a political opposition to a political menace, the menace of an alien national state being forcibly established in Palestine and either reducing the Arabs in it to a minority in their own land or driving them out.

The Arabs are opposed to any more immigration because the motives of the Zionists are political domination and their aim the establishment of a majority over the Arabs. The Zionists are trying to make political capital out of the Jewish refugee problem which is a human, not a political problem, and as such should be solved on the humanitarian plane by all the nations collectively. If this is done and each nation takes its share of Jewish refugees, the Arab world, which has always been friendly to the Jews would willingly take its share of refugees in proportion to its numbers and capacity, accept them as individuals and give them a secure home and full rights. But the Arabs cannot see why the Jewish problem should be made a political problem for Palestine and solved forcibly at the expense of the Arabs in it.

The Arabs demand self-governing institutions for Palestine in which the whole population, both Arabs and Jews, shall take part on a democratic basis. They should be set up with the view of leading the country, in the shortest possible time, to full independence. In this independent state Arabs and Jews will have full and equal rights of citizenship and there will be cultural and religious freedom for all communities, guaranteed if necessary by the Arab League.

The last thing the Arabs want is to have a perpetual feud with their Jewish cousins. The whole problem in Palestine has been created by the Zionists misguided aprroach, seeking domination as an alien community and using British bayonets or American influence to support them. From the beginning, if the Jews had come to Palestine not with the idea of establishing an alien state but to settle among the Arabs and cooperate with them, there would have been no conflict and no problem. Even now if the Jews in Palestine give up Zionist political ambitions and seek amalgamation instead of domination, they will find the Arabs ready to accept them and accord them as assimilated citizens autonomous rights as a community.

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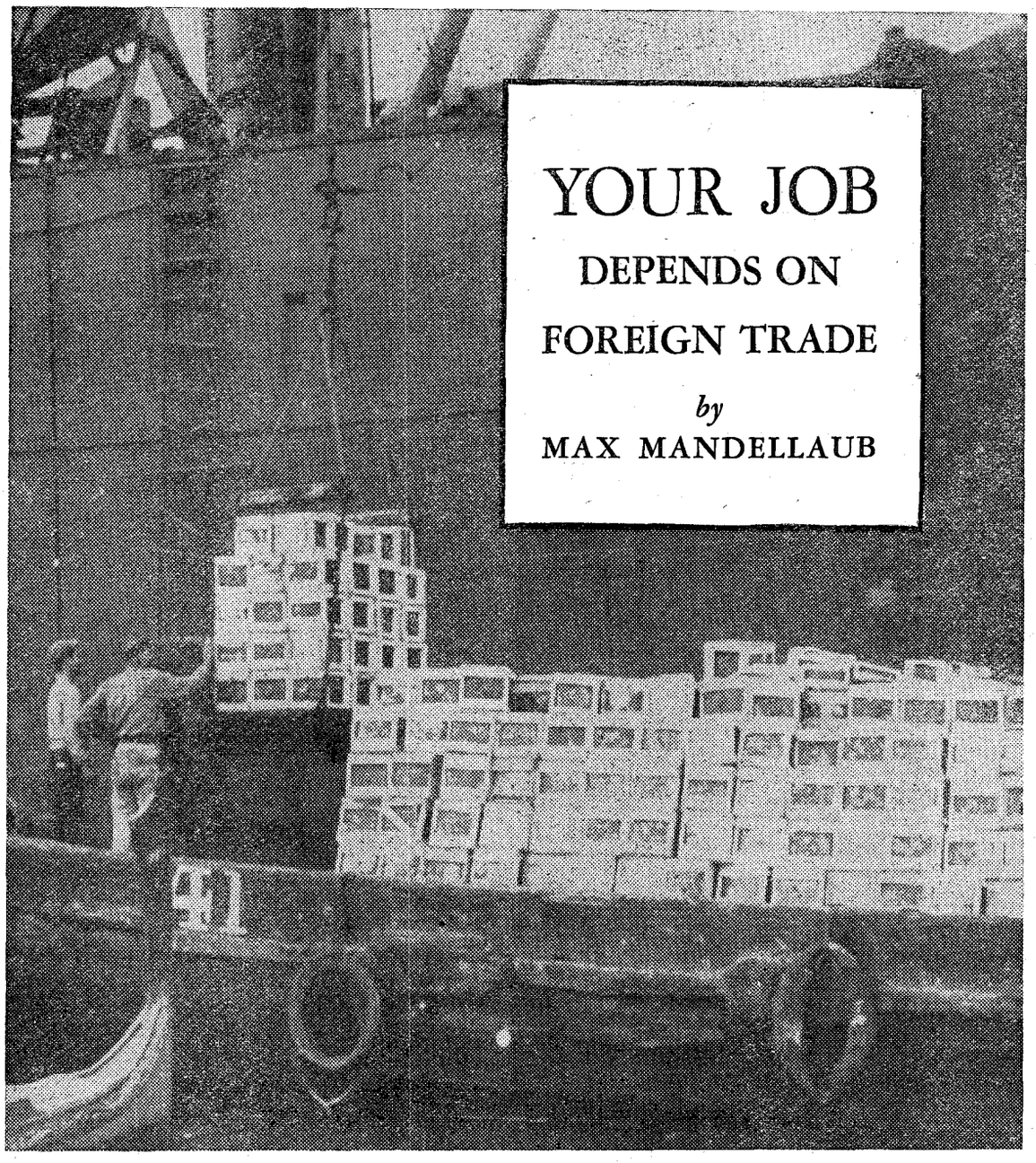

YOUR JOB DEPENDS ON FOREIGN TRADE

by
MAX MANDELLAUB

EVERY billion dollars' worth of goods exported from the United States provides half a million jobs for Americans. A yearly export of ten to twelve billion dollars would give employment to every second veteran of World War II. Based on such an export expansion, our total foreign trade would contribute twelve cents of every dollar of our national income. The reconstruction period of war-devastated areas in the world would be greatly shortened and the peoples of all nations within a generation could reach a degree of economic security which would eliminate a major cause of a new world conflagration. American foreign trade thus holds a key position in our program for prosperity at home and abroad and in the prevention of a third World War.

From 1941 to 1944 our ordinary annual export rate maintained a three billion dollar level. This did not include the stream of our lend-lease goods, which in four and a half years amounted to an average yearly rate of close to ten billion dollars. One of the greatest achievements of American industry, agriculture and labor during the global war was to bring the total export capacity of the United

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States to about fifteen billion dollars a year, or three times above the pre-depression figure of 1929, and more than four times greater than the 1938 level.

The size of our national income is closely related to our foreign trade. A recession in business activity in the United States is generally followed by a proportionate decline in imports of foreign goods. A decline in imports cuts the supply of dollars in foreign countries, causing a decrease in our exports. In turn, the fall of exports and imports further reduces our business activity at home. The foreign trade figures of 1919 to 1939, published by the United States Department of Commerce, prove that fluctuations in our imports and exports are translated into more or less proportionate fluctuations in the field of our employment and standard of living, and vice versa.

DURING the inter-war period, an average of 72 per cent of the imports to the United States consisted of crude materials, crude foodstuffs, semi-manufactures and other goods in the nature of raw materials.

The tremendously increased American exports during World War II has assigned to our foreign trade a new role in the nation's economy. Before the war our foreign trade was considered a mere "reservoir" of our commerce. Prosperity was believed to be caused by purely internal conditions, imports and exports at best prolonging, not originating it. Today United States foreign trade has come of age and will be itself a cause of our prosperity instead of only one of its effects.

A typical example of a completely changed situation may be shown by the development in steel exports. By 1936 virtually half the world's steel capacity was located in the United States. Yet our export of pig iron and rolled steel amounted to less than 1,400,000 tons or only 8 per cent of the world trade. Germany exported nearly 4,000,000 tons, Belgium-Luxembourg 3,300,000 tons, the United Kingdom 2,300,000 tons and France 1,700,000 tons. During the war the United States became the leading exporter of iron and steel. This position will be retained for many years to come, with a strong possibility of becoming a permanent economic fact in our generation. Reconstruction in Europe, industrialization of Latin-America and China, may well call for United States export of steel and steel products at an initial yearly rate of five to six million tons.

The overwhelming home demand for civilian goods will limit our export capacity for only a relatively short time. There would be a tragic chapter, indeed, in American economic history if our industrialists, seduced by a huge supply of dollars in the hands of the domestic consumer, would not seize upon the unique opportunity to insure themselves a lasting position on the world market. They would soon find out that, even after reduction of unemployment by our deferred demands for civilian goods, there will be a surplus production capacity from which can spring an economic depression unless this capacity is used without delay for an expansion of our foreign trade, for an increase of the world standard of living, for a powerful link with the economic interests of all mankind. Only with American economy operating at near production capacity can full employment became a lasting reality and not just a prelude to another mass unemployment.

TOGETHER, all belligerents have spent over one trillion dollars in the destructive conduct of World War II. The reconstruction of Europe (including the Soviet Union) will call for close to 800 billion dollars. The French political editor, Ruffin, estimates for France the equivalent of 52 billion dollars to bring his country back to quasi-normalcy and to repair partially the destruction and losses estimated at about 100 billion dollars by Raoul Dautry, French Minister of Reconstruction.

The period of time needed for reconstruction will depend greatly on the amount and kind of goods devastated Europe can obtain from the United States. If the annual United States export to Europe averages eight billion dollars for the next ten years and consists chiefly of capital goods, the work of European manpower itself could easily yield the remaining 90 per cent of expenditures necessary for reconstruction.

From this picture it is clear that Europe's reconstruction will be mainly the task of Europeans themselves. The role of America will be to participate in this work by delivering tools, industrial and agricultural machinery, certain means of transportation, fuel, cotton and critical foodstuffs to keep the peoples of Europe in a physical condition that will enable them to rebuild their homes, their industrial installations, bridges, railway lines, wrecked farms and harbors.

THE great world-demand for American goods is based on three facts the rehabilitation needs in devastated areas, the present absence from

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Exported Goods	1929	1937	1946-50
	(in millions of dollars)		
	(Official figures of Department of Commerce)		(Author's own estimate of yearly averages)
Animals and animal products, edible	244.2	62.4	250.0 to 300.0
Animals and animal products, inedible	117.5	53.9	250.0 to 300.0
Vegetable food products and beverages	509.3	219.5	850.0 to 1,000.0
Vegetable products, inedible, except fibers and wood	303.8	218.6	450.0 to 530.0
Textiles	979.2	467.3	900.0 to 1,080.0
Wood and paper	210.2	137.2	250.0 to 300.0
Non-metallic minerals	739.7	499.2	1,600.0 to 1,950.0
Metals and manufactures, except machinery, vehicles	538.4	501.8	1,450.0 to 1,650.0
Machinery and vehicles	1,198.2	889.0	3,500.0 to 4,300.0
Chemicals and related products	152.1	139.5	280.0 to 330.0
Miscellaneous	164.3	110.5	220.0 to 260.0
Total	5,157.0	3,298.9	10,000.0 to 12,000.0

the world market of Germany and Japan, and the crippling of industrial capacities in many liberated countries. It is obvious that rehabilitation needs can only be a starting point for our foreign trade and do not insure a long-term high level of our postwar export.

Through the activity of UNRRA, the Red Cross, religious, private and semi-official philanthropic organizations, funds of two to three billion dollars may be expected to be raised in the United States for the purpose of buying American goods to meet the most urgent needs in areas devastated by the war. Great as these generous efforts may be, they will constitute a short-lasting and relatively small contribution to the needy peoples in Europe and Asia.

The end of the war brought the end of lend-lease shipments and the beginning of the gradual return to a normal commercial routine of business transactions. Europe, as any other continent, will have to produce in order to get the goods it needs from abroad. In order to produce, it will need the instruments of production. In order to have Europe as our customer, the United States will have to become its customer. In other words, the United States will first have to export capital goods on the basis of long-term credits. Thus the bulk of our postwar exports will have to come from our manufacturing industry. Only when and if the productive machinery of other nations has been put on its feet, can our future customers become equal partners with us in the achievement of one of the most important points of the Atlantic Charter: Freedom from want.

The fact that our foreign customers will be particularly anxious to get the products of our factories is of crucial importance in the attempt to ascertain the proportion of jobs yielded by our foreign exports. It has been calculated that from every two jobs in a factory emerge seven jobs in our postwar economy as a whole, a ratio based on the expanded pro-

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ductivity of the last five years. It is estimated that our exports of ten to twelve billion dollars would give jobs to nearly two million factory workers and this type of work would in turn spread employment to other economic branches. Together with the agricultural export sector, an estimate of six to seven million jobs may well be justified.

A recent survey conducted by the Committee for Economic Development gives a breakdown of increased United States production expected during the first 12 postwar months. Industrial production of the country will be 41.6 per cent above the 1939 level, based on the pre-war price level, and, agricultural production will be up 35 per cent. The survey does not specify that proportion of goods which may be exported. However, it can be assumed that with an export figure of ten to twelve billion dollars, seven to nine billion will go to Europe (including the Soviet Union, and three to five billion to China, Latin America and the rest of the world.

IT is still too early to give a definite answer to the question of what will be the exact commodity pattern of our postwar exports. Yet it is possible to offer a projection into the future of that pattern, based on certain trends of the past and on more recent facts which have been revealed since the end of hostilities.

Assuming a ten to twelve billion dollar export trade, the commodity groups may appear as shown in the table on the previous page.

The foregoing table illustrates that our manufacturing industry would be the great beneficiary in the export trend as forecast. This in turn is highly significant for American labor, for it is in the sector of our industry that the greatest wartime expansion took place and the success of our reconversion program here will determine the success of our endeavor for full employment.

HOW will our customers abroad be able to pay for the goods they expect from the United States? It is obvious that in the long run this can only be done if our imports provide for sufficient dollar supplies to foreign countries. A large and stable flow of dollars abroad depends preponderantly on a large and stable import of foreign goods to the United States.

For the immediate postwar years the initial purchasing power of foreign customers is very considerable. The census of foreign property in the United States as of June 1941, undertaken and published by the Treasury Department, revealed that the total of foreign short-term assets in this country, including earmarked gold, amounted to more than 6.5 billion dollars. By the end of the war a significant amount of dollars had been accumulated in Latin American countries, due to the fact that we had imported more goods from them than they from us. In addition, long-term investments in the United States owned by residents of foreign countries as of the end of 1941, are estimated by the Department of Commerce at 5.3 billion dollars. Of course, whatever remains of these assets cannot suddenly be released for expenditure on American goods, unless we desire a major inflationary boom in this country.

THE balance of our international accounts will furthermore be determined by service transactions such as shipping and foreign travel. During the inter-war period 37 per cent of American import and export tonnages were carried by foreign merchant fleets. This percentage will certainly be reduced due to the tremendous wartime expansion of our own merchant fleet and the considerable war losses of that of other countries. On the other hand, American expenditures for foreign travel will certainly be an important source of the supply of dollars to foreign countries. But net receipts on American interest and dividend accounts of residents abroad will be below prewar standards, since many foreign investments in this country were sold during the war.

(The second part of Dr. Mandellaub's article will appear in the December issue of FREE WORLD.)

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WORLD TRAVEL

MEXICO

AN IDEAL TRAVEL LAND AND A LEADING MEMBER OF THE PROGRESSIVE NATIONS

Travel is fun, but since it means acquaintance and knowledge between nations, its influence is incalculable for peace. Now war is over it is safe to travel once more and fares are climbing down from their inflated heights. It only remains for government passport and police regulations to be simplified. Our travel editor this month takes us to Mexico, noted for its progressively more intelligent handling of tourists.

IN the October issue, we covered the ways and means of traveling to Mexico from the United States and we are now ready to look into some of the attractions of this ideal travel land which will appeal to you for many reasons.

An unparalleled string of snow-capped volcanoes is set on the highlands of a broad plateau reaching up from lush tropical valleys and from the blue waters of the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean—Popocatepetl, Ixtaccihuatl, and Orizaba, are some of the most famous. They dominate colorful rural scenes and picturesque towns reminiscent of Spanish colonial days.

Perfect examples of the architecture and highly developed arts of the Indian civilizations of the Mayas, Toltecs, Aztecs, and Zapotecs are to be seen in Yucatán, Teotihuacán, and Oaxaca. Colorful costumes and customs stemming from the days of those Indian civilizations and the subsequent Spanish colonial rule, serve as

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a setting for the wonderful folk tunes and dances of a music-loving people, and for the handicrafts, textiles, pottery and other examples of Indian art and ingenuity.

When it comes to pure relaxation for war-weary nerves, there are no nicer places to choose from for that long-deferred vacation than the splendid beaches of Acapulco and Guaymas, the resort hotels at Fortín, Garci Crespo and San José Purúa, and the Mayan style cottages in the jungle surrounding the famous ruins of Chichén Itzá.

Mexico, third largest of the Latin American countries, after Brazil and Argentina, and second only to Brazil in population, also attracts those of us who cannot be otherwise than impressed by a country where rapid strides toward improving communications and combatting illiteracy have been made. Mexico is also of particular interest due to her successful experiments in social control strengthened by her position on world-shaking events—for example, the haven the Spanish Loyalists found in their sister republic.

There is a thrilling publication that was prepared in 1944 for Mexico's national campaign against illiteracy—a textbook conceived to aid the layman who can read and write to pass on that precious knowledge to a relative or friend, particularly in districts where there is still a lack of trained teachers. Mexico is very much alive and a great stimulant to the traveler who can see beyond the usual "clichés" which have too long been associated with the people and scenes south of the border.

Communications by air are most extensive; twelve important air lines reach every major city in the "United Mexican States" (Estados Unidos Mexicanos) and countless spots difficult to find on the average map or atlas. Railroad mileage rates eleventh place in the world picture and is exceeded only by that of the United States, Canada, and Argentina in the Western Hemisphere. The main highways are excellent.

The climate of the Mexican plateau is delightful at all seasons. During the rainy period, from June to September, showers are almost always of short duration and occur late in the afternoon. Although Yucatán and other coastal regions are more tropical than the central plateau of Mexico, they are popular winter resorts because of their unsurpassed climate, since the days are balmy and the nights cool. Summer mornings are comfortable and afternoons warm, but not disagreeable, due to the unfailing winds that blow from the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean. The summer nights are pleasantly cool. There is something about the air in Mexico City and the surrounding "Valley of Mexico" which is exhilarating. The temperature in Mexico City averages 57 degrees from October to March and 65 degrees from April to September.

WHAT should one wear? For Mexico City bring the same clothing that you would wear in a temperate zone on sunny days in the late fall. For the cool evenings a light overcoat or wrap is desirable. In Taxco, Michoacán, Oaxaca, and other places at lower altitudes than those of Mexico City and vicinity, and at coastal points, lighter clothing such as linens will be found convenient. By all means bring comfortable walking shoes. For Yucatán and the lowlands, light summer apparel can be used throughout the year.

Hotels are among the best in Latin America. Most of the recent ones in Mexico City, Cuernavaca, Taxco, Acapulco, Oaxaca and the resorts of Garci Crespo, Fortín de la Flores and San José Purúa are built in modern style and the rates are reasonable. A room with bath and three meals will cost you from $4.00 to $7.00 a day. The sightseeing will be handled by many reliable organizations in good private cars with English-speaking guides who know their job. The average day's trip runs from $5 to $20 per person depending on the distance involved. (For instance, the popular three-day trip to Lake Pátzcuaro and the impressive volcano of Parícutín, a total distance of 660 miles, costs about $60 per person. Drives around the cities and their immediate surroundings are amazingly reasonable.)

For a two-week round trip the cost of a visit to Mexico City and its surroundings—the floating gardens of Xochimilco, the Pyramids, maybe a bullfight and some interesting native dances at Rivaroll's—a jaunt down to balmy Cuernavaca, picturesque Taxco, and one of those two or three-day trips to the volcano, or Acapulco, or to old Puebla, and the garden spots of Fortín and Orizaba—would be less than $250 from a point such as St. Louis. This includes coach fare to the border and Pullman transpor-

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tation beyond, hotels, meals, sightseeing, and entertainment. If you leave from New York, add about $35 to the total. Pullman throughout will cost slightly more and, of course, there's the plane at rates approximating those of the Pullman.

There are many good places at which to enjoy savory Mexican food—from "mole de guajolote" a turkey dish, to the many varieties of "tortillas" (tacos, enchiladas, tostadas, and quesadillas), "tamales," and elaborate seafoods. Lake Pátzcuaro whitefish is especially tasty. Mexican beer is good and the stronger "pulque" or "tequila" will give a pleasant start to a meal. American dishes and international cuisine are featured at quite a few places. In Mexico City, among many good restaurants, there are: Sanborn's, an institution in an old palace; Prendes, an old Mexican favorite; Lady Baltimore for United States style cooking; Henri, French cuisine; Manolo's, on the international side; Café de Tacuba, Indian-Mexican dishes; Fonda Santa Anita, Mexican dishes; San Angel Inn, in the Villa Alvaro Obregón suburb opposite Diego Rivera's "villa" and well worth the drive.

IN Mexico, it's always "fiesta" time. Each village honoring its patron saint by religious celebrations mixed with primitive ritual dances, fireworks, carrousels and other colorful ceremonies. There are also nationwide events and here are some of them:

December 12: All Mexico pays homage in gala attire to the miracle-making Virgin of Guadalupe, with church ceremonies followed by dancing, feasting and fireworks. The church and shrine of Guadalupe, near Mexico City, is a "must" on your itinerary.

January 6: "Día de los Reyes" or Epiphany: an excuse for the exchange of gifts as we do at Christmas time.

March 3-6 (1946): Carnival festivals with much confetti, dancing, and general merrymaking.

March 21: Anniversary of the birth of Benito Juárez and Day of the Indian Child, with special exhibits of paintings and art-crafts by amazingly talented Indian children.

April 14-21 (1946): Holy week, an inspiring and deeply religious period observed with fiestas, passion plays, and other events, especially in the Indian villages.

September 16: Celebration of Mexico's Declaration of Independence with parades, bullfights, and other ceremonies. The night before, at 11 p.m., there is an impressive ceremony when the President of Mexico stands on the central balcony of the National Palace and repeats the "Grito de Dolores," the rallying slogan of the revolutionary patriots who gathered under Father Hidalgo in 1810.

October 12: "Fiesta de la Raza" or Columbus Day.

Paricutin volcano is one of the unforgettable sights in Mexico. In February, 1943, a fissure appeared in a cornfield near the village of San Juan Parangaricutiro, not far from the lake district of the State of Michoacán, and a volcano was born, the first in the world since the 18th century. The flow of lava slowly descended toward the village until today only the top of the church spire is visible. Visitors to Lake Pátzcuaro arrange to spend the night at Uruapan, where famous lacquerware is made, and from there automobiles are taken for the 24-mile drive toward the volcano. The atmosphere is laden with ashes for ten miles around the volcano's crater. The automobiles wind and climb and sometimes have a little difficulty getting through the soft ashes while the bellowing of the volcano becomes increasingly loud. A halt is suddenly called at the foot of a wall of lava and it is here that one starts the climb on horseback, a trip of about one and a half hours, past that churchspire, over a rough trail among crevices spouting smoke and scenery devoid of vegetation, the bare tree trunks attesting to what was once a thick forest.

The end of the trail brings your sure-footed pony to a lookout point that seems much too close to the spouting crater which explodes every few seconds. The guide will point out that many of those "stones" that are rolling down the perfect cone of the monster are the size of a house. If your trip is timed properly, you arrive at the lookout point just before sunset and, after dusk descends, the surrounding darkness will then bring the spectacle into its full glory as the masses of stone and dirt now show their incandescence with an astoundingly magnificent display of "fireworks."

In the next issue we shall continue our travels in Mexico, thence southbound to Guatemala and the other Central American republics.

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BEAUTIFUL MEXICO

MEXICO—an ideal Travel Country.

The photographer called this picture of Puebla Mexico "Enchanted Window." But with the same right you may call all Mexico an "enchanted country"—it is full of unforgettable views, beauty in unexpected places and surprising impressions.

Phot. Silberstein-Monkmeyer

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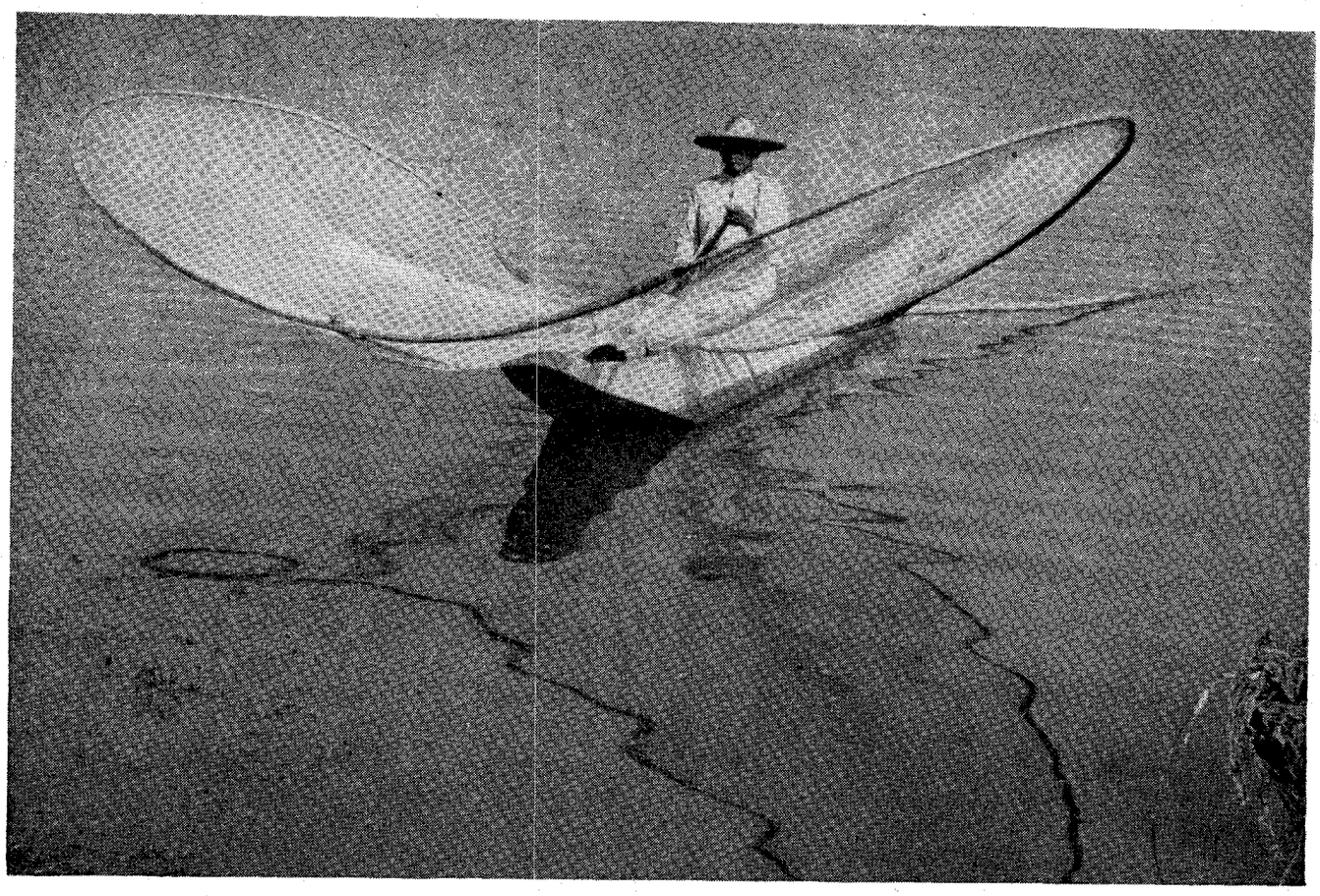

On Lake Patzcuara fishermen still use in primitive boats the century old method of catching fish with their butterfly nets. Inefficient but lovely.

Phot. Fritz Henle

Mexico everywhere is full of relics of her great past. This is one of the famous stone snakes at the pyramid of Tenayuca near Mexico City.

Phot. Severin★

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Now you may make reality of a dream, flying more than 18,000 feet above one of the earth's great volcanos, Mexico's Popocatepetl.

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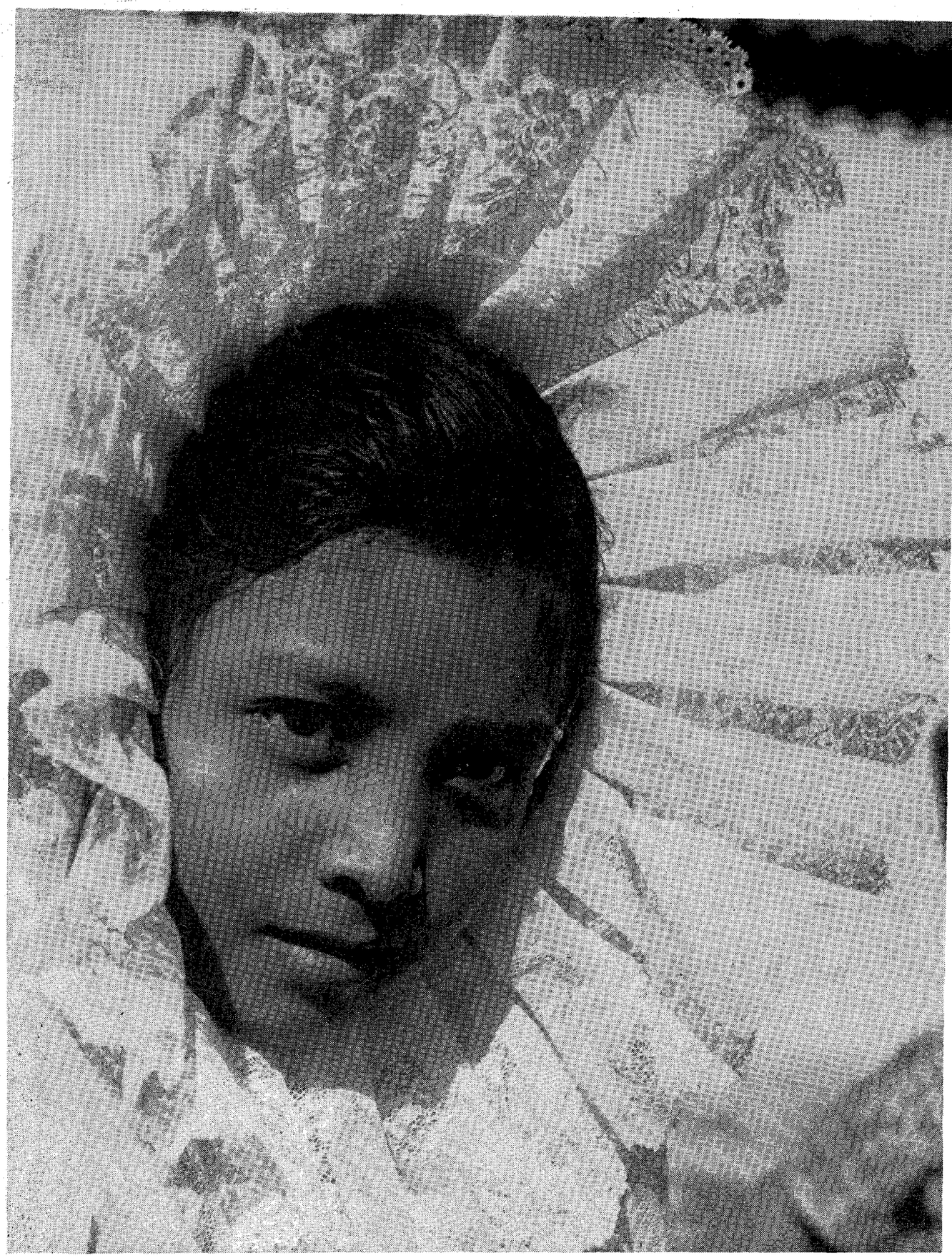

Mexico's women are famous not only for their beauty but also for their picturesque costumes. This young girl from Tehuantepec wears a most becoming lace halo traditional for centuries in this part of the country.

Phot. F. Henle

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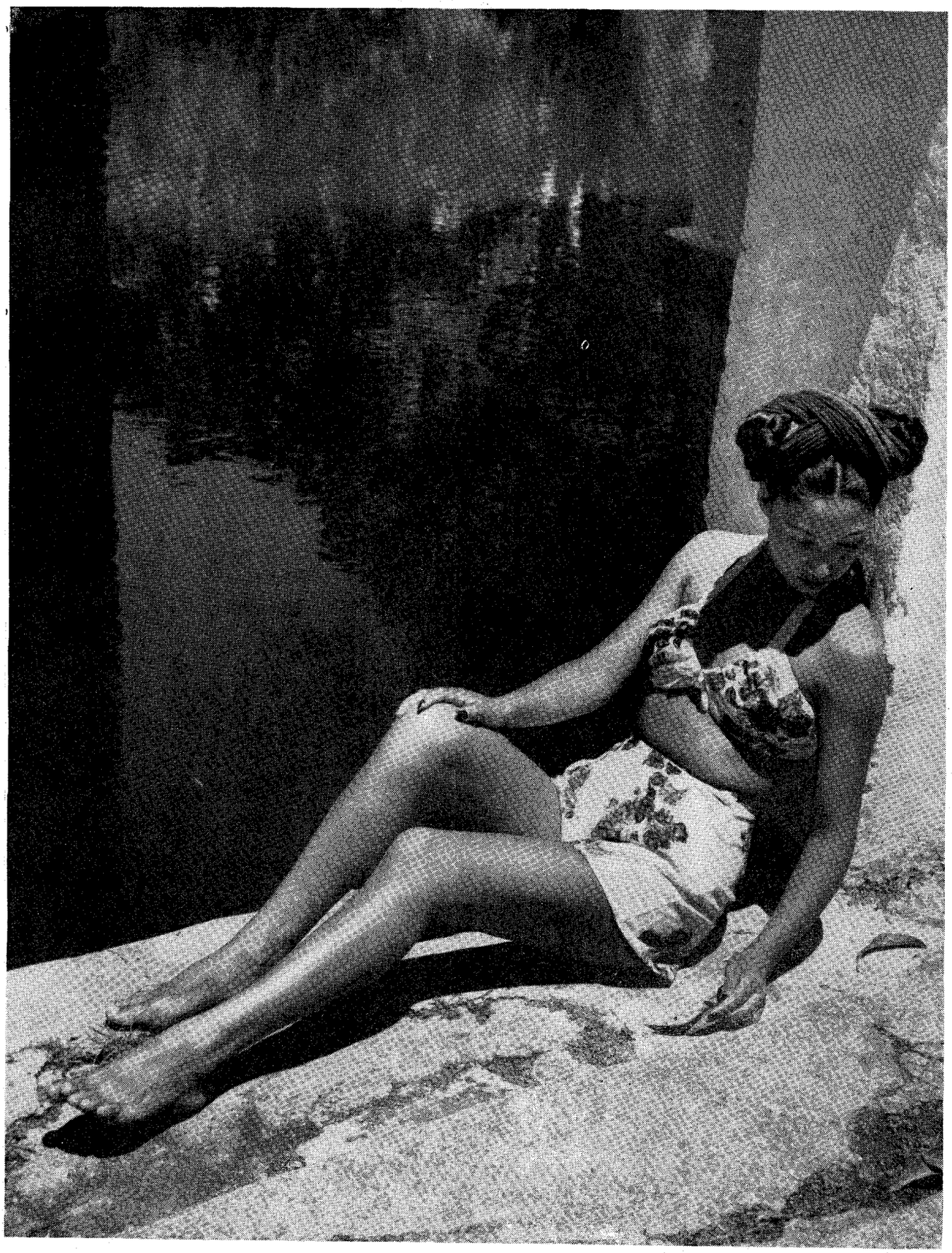

But it's not quaint costume alone that makes Mexican girls attractive: Nieves Orozco de Tillet, a favorite model of Diego Rivera, is one of the many exquisite Otomi Indian girls who show the latest imported or local fashions.

Phot. F. Henle

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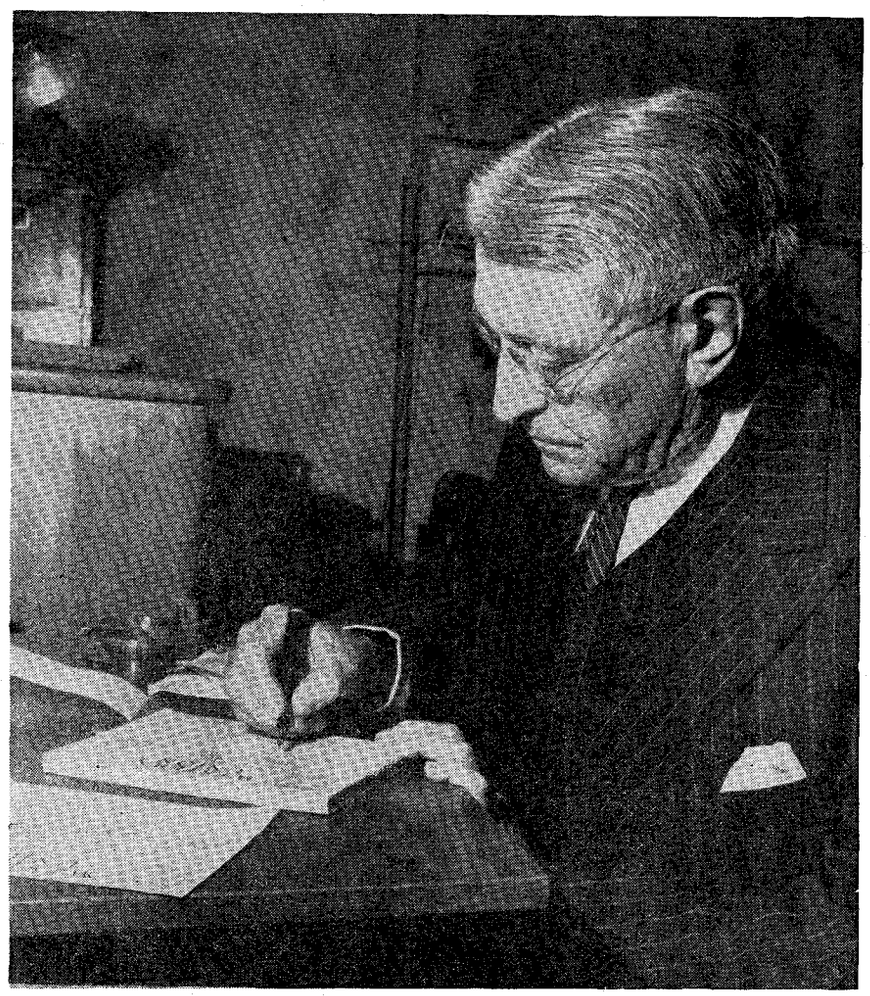
THE FIRST CONFERENCE ON WORLD GOVERNMENT IN DUBLIN, N. H.

Exclusive Pictures made for FREE WORLD

by S. Nathan. Black Star.

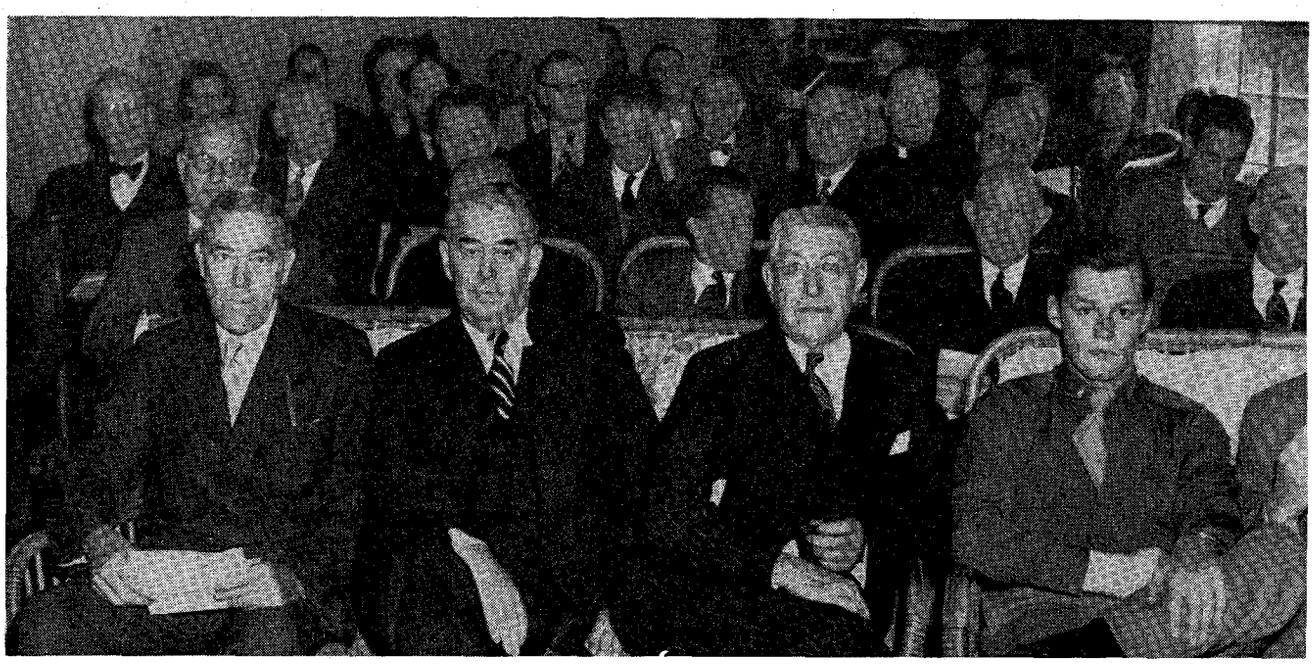


Fifty prominent men and women met at Dublin, N. H., a fortnight ago to conduct a most unusual and significant experiment—the formal discussion of how world government can be achieved.

Gathered together on the initiative of retired Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts, five days were spent in private discussions. The majority report expressed an universal viewpoint, stressed the urgent necessity of substituting for the inadequate United Nations Organization a "world federal government" with "closely defined and limited power adequate to prevent war" and called for swift amendment of the U. S. Constitution to permit American adherence. The minority report recommended proceeding to world federation via a first stage of nuclear alliances with "nations where individual liberty exists," or in more direct language, without Russia as yet.

Whatever the results of this meeting may be, it demonstrates at least how deeply the necessity of world government has impressed opinion leaders in this country. FREE WORLD is pleased to present this exclusive series of intimate photographs taken at the Dublin meeting.

The Honorable Owen J. Roberts, retired Supreme Court Justice, nominal host to a group of prominent Americans who at Dublin, N. H., discussed how world government can be achieved.



Formal portrait of the Dublin meeting shows in the front (l. to r.) Grenville Clark, N. Y. lawyer, Thomas H. Mahoney, Chairman of the Massachusetts Committee for World Organization, Justice Roberts, and Lt. Edward Mahony.

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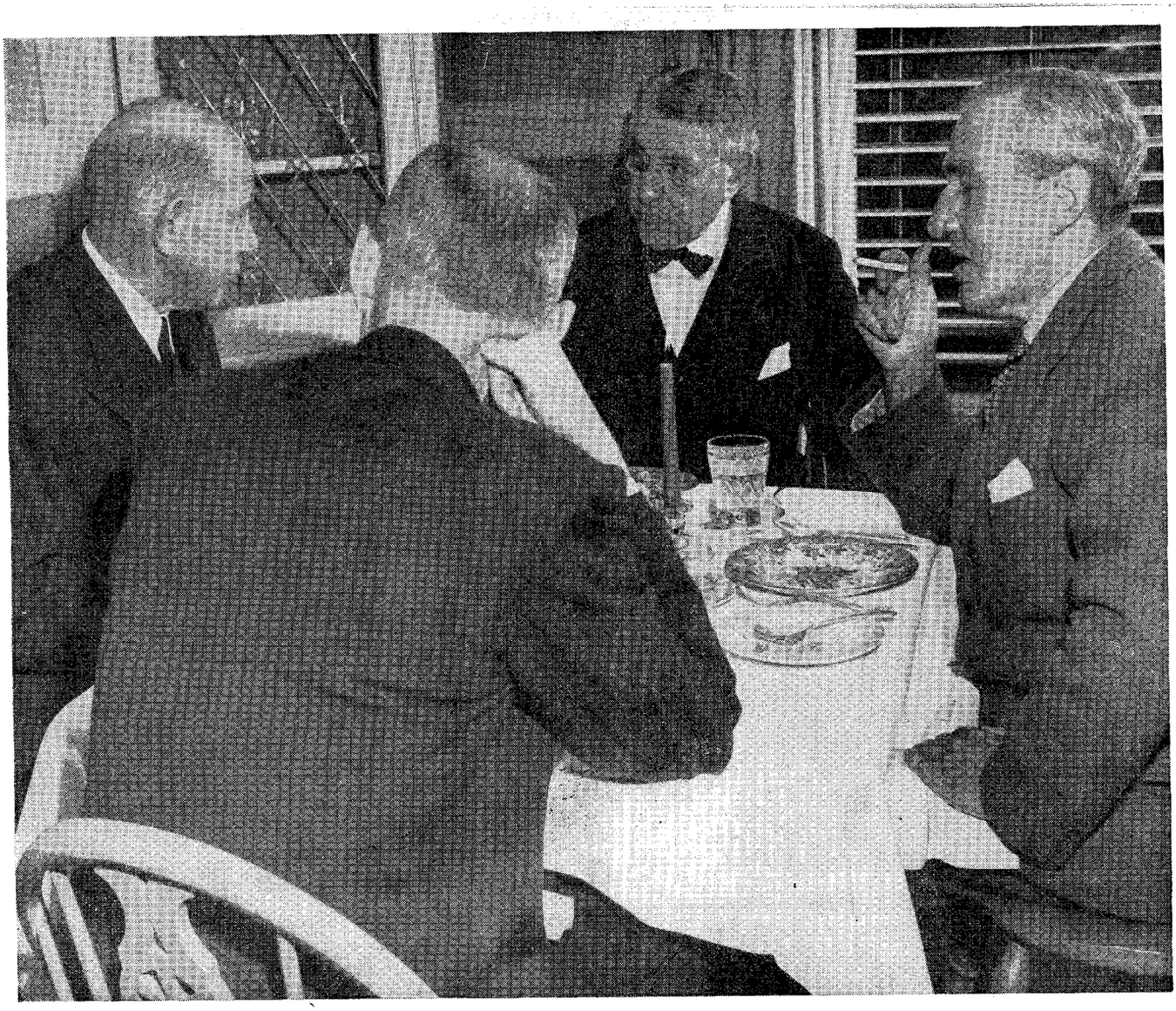
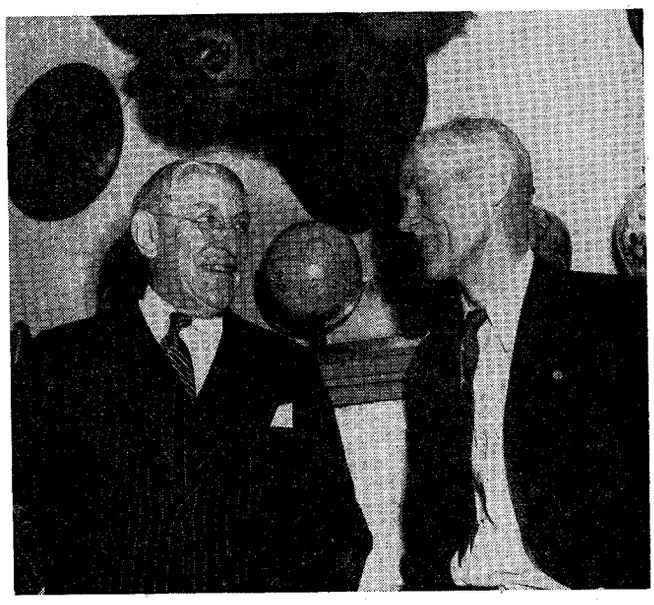


Frank Aydelotte, President of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton University, Clarence K. Streit (with back to camera), Justice Roberts and Michael Williams, author, continue talking at the dinner table.

Edgar Ansel Mowrer, writer, Pulitzer Prize Winner, 1932, and Thomas K. Finletter, N. Y. lawyer.



Justice Roberts and Clarence K. Streit, author of "Union Now" and president of Federal Union, Inc.

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Lt. and Mrs. Marshall Field, Jr. were among the participants.

Winfield Riefler economist, Prof. of Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton) with Michael Straight.

Brook House, Dublin, N. H., where the meeting took place may someday become an international shrine.

Emery Reves, author, and John K. Jessup, chief editorial writer of "Life."

Grenville Clark and Thomas H. Mahony, two sponsors of the conference.

Robert Wheelwright (landscape architect and exec. member, Federal World Government, Inc.) with Rev. Edward C. Conway, S. J. (authority on international relations).

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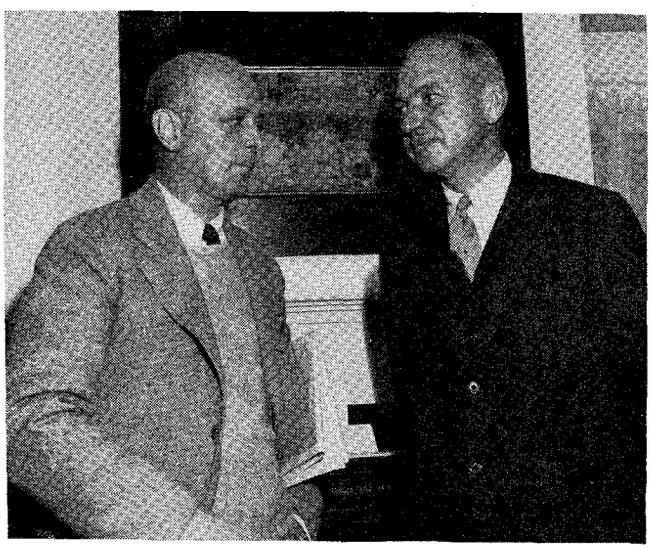
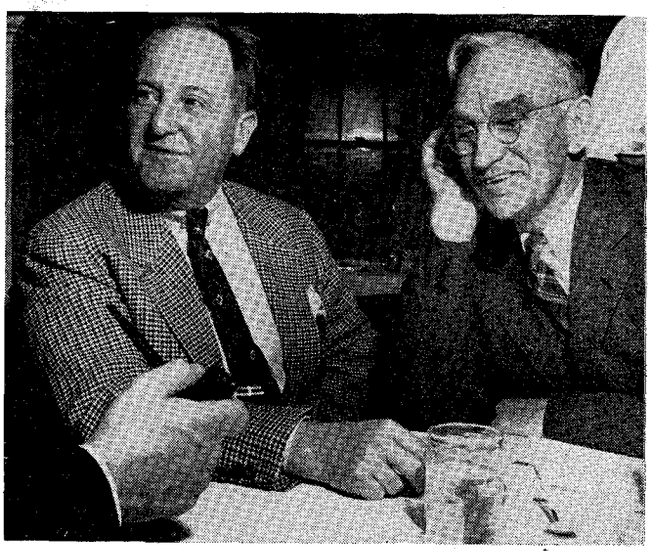
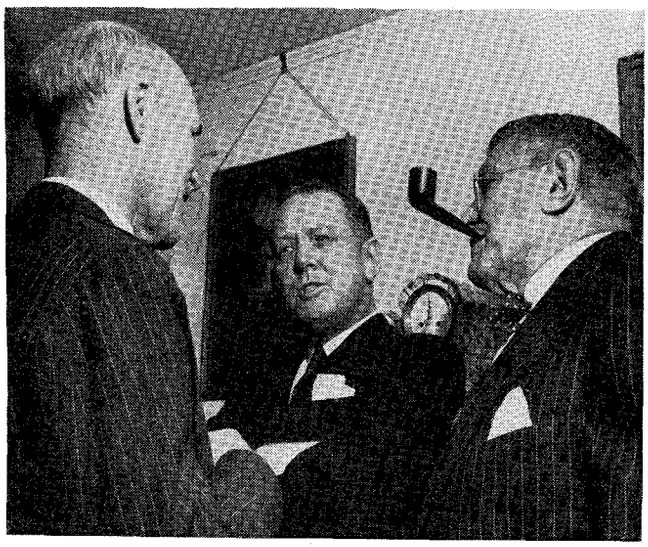


Thomas K. Finletter, director, Americans United for World Organization and Winfield Riefler, Princeton University economist.



Richard B. Scandrett, member, American mission on German reparations, 1945, and Herbert F. Rudd, professor of philosophy, U. of New Hampshire.



Palmer Hutcheson and Douglas Arant, with Justice Roberts.

Alan Cranston (foreign correspondent, author of "Killing of the Peace," former Yank editor) and Lt. Gray Thoron (lawyer, N. Y.).

Thomas H. Mahony, Norman Cousins, editor of Saturday Review of Literature, and J. A. Migel, director of Americans United for World organization.

A. J. G. Priest, director of Federal Union, Inc., Louis Fischer, writer and lecturer, and Stringfellow Barr, President, St. Johns College, Annapolis, Md.

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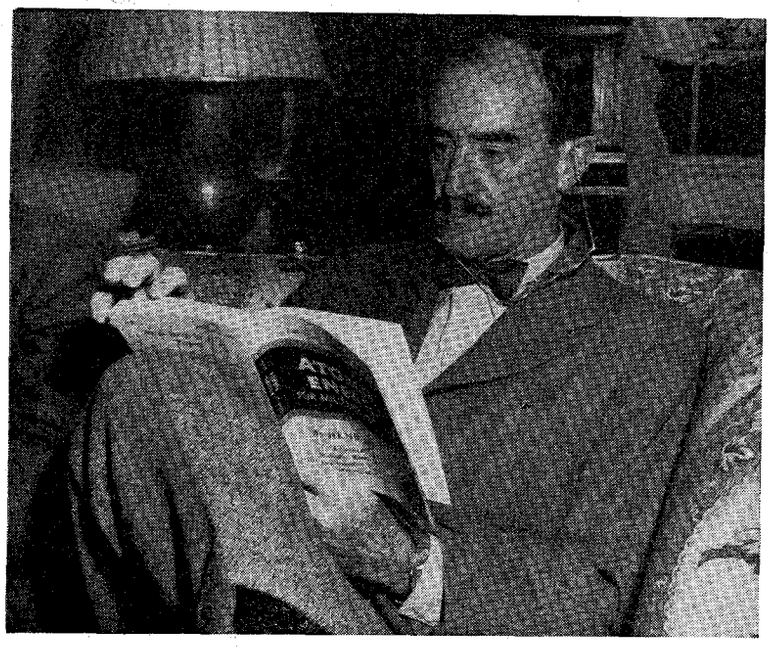
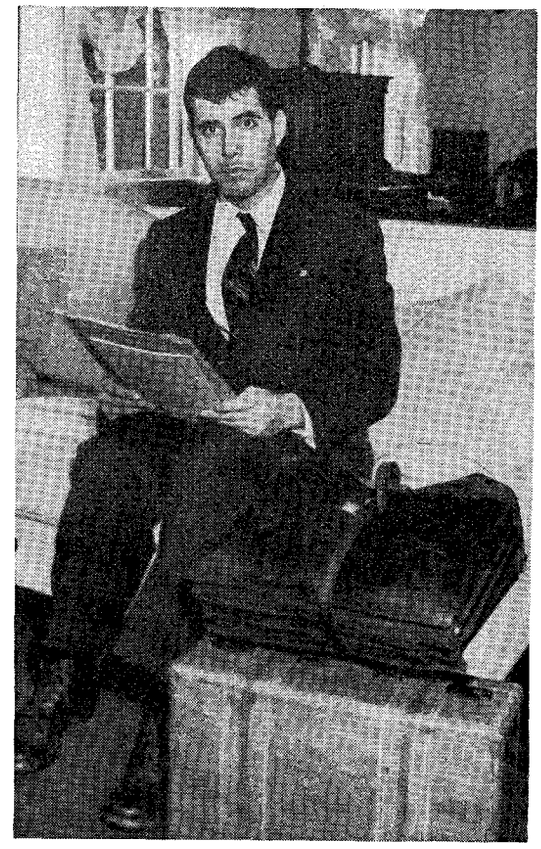
Beardsley Ruml, chairman, Federal Reserve Bank of New York and well known tax expert.

Miss Marie J. Carroll, Research director of the World Peace Foundation and Lt. Mahony are attentive listeners.



Henry B. Cabot, chairman of the "Committee of 1000" on international organization of Boston takes time out (and his glasses off) to read the official Smyth report on Atomic Energy. Mr. Smyth was also present.



Dave Franklin was uninvited. He arrived hitchiking, but ready with a plan of his own for world organization, including the design of a new flag. He was given luncheon but did not take part in the discussions. We don't know whether his plan is any good, but he stands for all young men who know that their future and their lives depend on what is going to be done in the next few years.

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Pity for Germany?

A DANGEROUS PROPAGANDA LINE REPEATED

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1945.

IN BERLIN THE WAITING ROOM IS WHERE YOU FIND IT

A displaced German woman and her child before entraining from the capital. Their departure was delayed for several days because of a shortage of German transportation facilities.

Associated Press

This appealing sight of a woman waiting for a train is designed to excite pity. Of course we are sorry for her—she is one of the victims of war. But this picture, like others shown here, imply a condition applying to all Germans and thus sentimentally distracts attention from millions of nazis and weakens the cases of displaced persons and slave laborers—victims of German aggression.

UNITED NATIONS journalists, and Americans in particular, face one of their gravest tasks in correctly appraising Germany in defeat. Pity for Germany was a favorite propaganda line after 1918, not to help the democratic forces in Germany but to justify German militarism and rearmament. FREE WORLD favors support of genuine democratic forces in Ger-

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B. I. Sander's photo for the Associatec Press is captioned: "Sorrow Overcome: German Woman. On her way to he home, this old German woman sits o a bench in Berlin and cries. Cart con tains her belongings." Quite so, an other victim of war. But her sorrow doe not alter the fact that the majority o Germans still cling to fascism. *AP phot*

The British are as sentimental as Ameri cans. The caption of this Keystone pho tograph tells the pitiful story of "pretty, 20-year-old Berlin girl" wh "walked 8 kilometers" (5 miles) to col lect fire wood. FREE WORLD was les impressed by this photo than by those o Belsen and Dachau. *Keystone pho*

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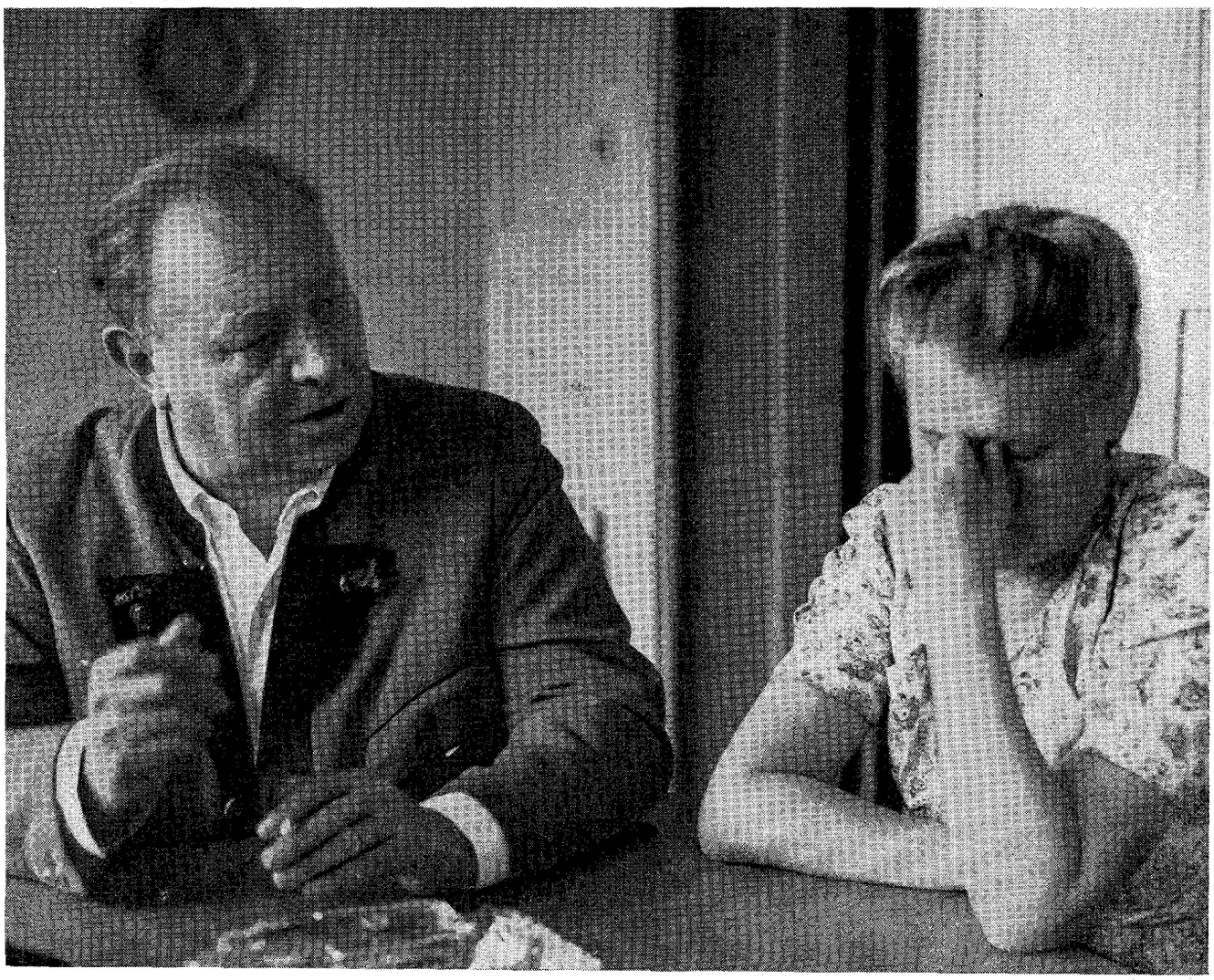
many, but warns strongly against the inspired and coordinated campaign aimed at evading the basic responsibility of the German people for having tolerated and, in a considerable majority, participated in the crimes of nazism. Newspaper reports in all Allied countries indicate that American occupation troops especially are increasingly impressed with the "kindness" of the Germans, and accept much of their propaganda against the Russians and against "decaying Europe."

Part of the German campaign is to stage scenes appealing to Anglo-Saxon sentimentality. Distribution of photographs by Allied photographers arousing pity in the U. S. and Great Britain is unconsciously furthering the German line of self-pity in preparation for a comeback for conquest through a new nazism.

FREE WORLD presents in these pages some examples of how the campaign for self-pity is already beginning to bear fruit.

Keystone's photographer, fascinated by the fuel shortage, says this woman "staggers" under her load of faggots. Keystone should remember that liberated countries are still suffering much more than Germany.

Keystone phot.



Emil Jannings explains "he was forced to make anti-British film." Fat and flourishing Jannings has less to explain than the photographer who allowed himself to be trapped by Frau Jannings' tears into distributing a picture which screams for pity.

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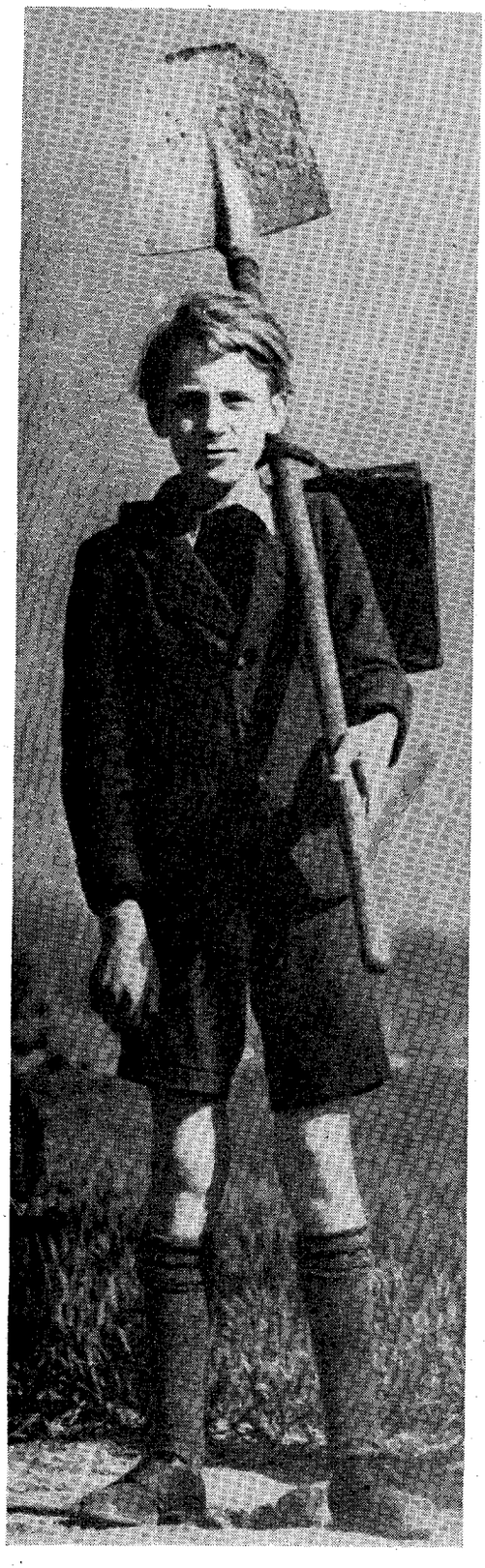
Keystone's caption writer says this is a "close-up of 15-year-old Karl Xaverwald, son of an iron worker, who looks like Huckleberry Finn." He fails to add that a few months ago this lad . . .
Keystone phot.



. . . may have been one of the millions of German boys who too long were raised under the sign of the crooked cross to let us forget easily that they are *not* the innocent Huckleberry Finns they seem.

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ARGENTINA—AND THE MAN WHO GAVE HER HOPE

When Spruille Braden went to Argentina in May 1945, as American ambassador, U. S. prestige was at its lowest ebb. His arrival coincided with an upsurge of popular resentment against the clique of colonels dictating to the country since 1943. Here a demonstration 500,000 strong—called "the most fervent and largest demonstration of its kind ever staged in a Latin American country"—gives convincing proof of the fascist Argentine government's unpopularity. *UP phot*

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TODAY: Democratic Argentines made Braden into the symbol of their hopes for free government. He came closer to the Argentine people than any American ambassador has ever been. Our Argentine correspondent reports that "if Braden were nominated for the presidency in Argentina, he would be overwhelmingly elected!"

1938: Spruille Braden's reputation as a tireless worker and hard-hitting progressive democrat stems from his work on the Chaco Peace Conference. This picture was taken in 1938. The face with the blank expression in the center belongs to the present managing editor of FREE WORLD. Allen Hader was at that time assistant to Mr. Braden. *Foreign Service Journal phot*

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SPRUILLE BRADEN

THE COLONEL TAMER

by ALLEN HADEN

EVEN for Havana in October, the day was blisteringly hot, but that didn't prevent half a million Cubans from jamming shoulder to shoulder before the presidential palace, there to watch the last act of a tremendous struggle between themselves and dictatorship. Inside the palace, where a couple of hundred politicians and dignitaries milled about uneasily and sweated in heavy frock coats and striped trousers, three men stood out as chief actors in the tense drama now at its climax which gave Cuba—so said many Cubans—the first popular election in their history. Two of these men were Cubans, the third was an American—who has just taken office as Assistant Secretary of State in charge of relations with Latin America.

Ramon Grau San Martin was being inaugurated president. His mildly professorial fussiness and toothy smile contrasted sharply with the somber contempt and leopard's litheness of Fulgencio Batista, the dictator ousted by elections he could not prevent. And the third was Spruille Braden, Ambassador of the United States, huge, smiling—and watchful.

Ten years of dictatorship ended in catcalls and whistles when Batista, flanked by two gunsters, their Tommy guns ready in crooked elbows, tore away at top speed in his bullet-proof limousine. But the more extraordinary scene was to follow. Ambassador Braden came out shortly after Batista and set out afoot for his automobile parked two blocks away. The crowd spotted him at once, spilled through the police lines and swarmed about him. With all the wild handshaking and pounding of his well-padded shoulder—accompanied by endless shouts of *Viva el Embajador, Viva los Estados Unidos* and *Viva la democracia*—it took him, despite his tremendously aggressive bulk, half an hour to make the two blocks. The crowd knew that Braden had been a powerful factor in guaranteeing the election that made Dr. Grau president. And to older United States embassy attachés, accustomed to the past coldness of Cuban masses toward *Yanqui* emissaries, here was an unforgettable entry in any diplomat's diary.

Within a year Braden repeated—the second time in Argentina. The Ambassador had been away from Buenos Aires for two days scattering a fistfull of the seeds of democracy in the interior of the country.

In his absence, the government permitted—some say encouraged—pamphlets and posters and mass meetings attacking him. Dictator-wise *Porteños* (inhabitants of Buenos Aires) sensed the need of a repudiation of such tactics and Braden's return to Buenos Aires afforded the opportunity. As he and Mrs. Braden descended from the train at Retiro Station, the crowd which had gathered shouted its acclaim – but also seized the opportunity to shout for "Free elections" and "Free elections without Peron." The police were outsmarted; just as gentlemen do not fight in the presence of ladies, one does not provoke a riot before a foreign ambassador—and the crowd knew that. Moreover, Buenos Aires newspapers displayed as advertisements, testimonials signed by more than 500 prominent citizens reaffirming their friendship for the United States and Spruille Braden.

That night, in the sidewalk cafes along famed Avenida de Mayo, where the crowds are always quick for a new quip, they had a new nickname for the American Ambassador. It was *El Domador de Coroneles*—the Tamer of Colonels.

TO those fainthearted and tradition-congested careerists in the State Department who fear that Braden, with his powerful convictions and phenomenal energy, will some day burst the bounds of non-intervention, his acclaim is difficult to understand. They vaguely resent that forsaking the hoary forms of diplomatic approach, by blunt speech and exhausting the resources of positive action, Braden should have become on two quickly consecutive instances, the unexpected champion of the people's hope for free government.

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What they have failed to appreciate, in the precise degree in which Braden himself has understood it, is that United States diplomats have an ideological mission. Beyond the everyday protection of commercial rights, the everyday handling of this or that negotiation, Braden believes the United States must stand for democracy in action, for a functioning democracy. And since the attention of foreign countries centers on the top man, he feels American ambassadors must in themselves show democracy at its best, and be the ideological representative of democracy. When faced by dictatorship and fascism in Cuba and Argentina, Spruille Braden did not hesitate to condemn them. In both cases the people backed him. That alone makes Assistant Secretary of State Spruille Braden an extraordinary man.

The traditionalists can be forgiven, for Spruille Braden is cast in a peculiar pattern. He fits into none of the accepted molds of diplomacy. He has none of the classic perfectionism of Sumner Welles nor the planetary thinking of Adolf Berle; neither the courtliness of Norman Armour nor the hollow magnificance of Joseph Grew; none of the dreary pedantry of George Messersmith nor the suave superficiality of James Clement Dunn. Indeed, Spruille Braden is to orthodox diplomacy what Beardsley Ruml is to orthodox economics. He brushed against Yale but the old school tie has little meaning to him. He loves loud prints from Charvet.

Crimen in Spanish means "crime" and appears on a government authorized handbill attacking Braden personally. Colonel Peron tried to link Braden with an accident occuring in Braden Copper Co. mines in Chile. The handbills don't add that all Braden copper interests were sold to the Guggenheims in 1912.

CONSIDERING the unorthodox nature of the man, one can well wonder just how and why Spruille Braden ever got into the diplomatic service in the first place. Certainly nothing can be found in his early semi-nomadic life to foreshadow this development. Born in a Montana mining camp 51 years ago, his boyhood was simply a succession of sojourns along the mountainous ridge of the Americas, from Canada to Chile with intermediate stops in Mexico. He entered Yale's Sheffield Scientific School with a minimum of exactly five and one-half years of elementary schooling — but with a maximum of maternal knee-side tutoring. Peripatetic by nature, three years of college were a chore to Braden. He defended the goal on the Varsity water polo team and was chosen All-American goalie for two years in succession, in 1913 and 1914. When discussing his youth, he is more apt to talk about the year he took off from college to journey through the west as miner, timberman and oilfield mucker. After graduation, South America offered irresistible lures and the young mining engineer's flair for promotion soon evidenced itself.

By the early Twenties, Braden was dividing his time between South America, an imposing home at Riverdale-on-the-Hudson, and an office in New York City from which he directed varied financial and real estate operations. His outstanding accomplishment in this period was promoting the electrification of the Chilean State Railways by Westinghouse Electric against tough German competition. In 1932, Braden plumped solidly with a sizeable contribution and personal effort for Franklin Roosevelt.

With the enunciation of the Good Neighbor Policy there was a definite need for the services of a businessman with Braden's background. Homer Cummings, then Attorney General, introduced him to Cordell Hull, and Hull took him along as a delegate to the inter-American conference held at Montevideo, in 1933. There was little chance here, however, for Braden to blossom on his own. But he impressed Judge Hull by his vast acquaintance with Latin American personalities and his intimate knowledge of the economics of the continent. Braden's

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chance came two years later when the State Department urgently needed an expert negotiator to salvage the fast-disintegrating Chaco Peace Conference in Buenos Aires.

It was his chance and he made the most of it. It was Saavedra Lamas who got the Nobel prize for the Chaco settlement; but Braden got his coveted assignment as ambassador of the United States—first to Colombia, later to Cuba, and then in the past few months to the stormy post in Argentina.

THIRTY years of doing business in Latin America—for himself and for the United States government—have left Braden with strong convictions. One of these is that progress is possible only through democracy, and that democracy is impossible without clean government. Dictatorships appear to him to be illegitimate on two counts: positively because they subsist by trickery and police terror; negatively because they refuse to heed popular opinion. As a businessman, he has seen graft accepted as standard practice, but he condemns it because it furthers the deep-seated economic and social disease of which it is the symptom.

These principles are not mere window dressing. He says he never paid bribes himself. In Cuba, he banned political campaign contributions by Americans, for he feels that powerful American companies thereby too often support dictatorships; the practice benefits them perhaps temporarily but jeopardizes the long-range prestige of the whole American people. In practice, he believes that graft and political contributions are a means of constructing a hidden colonial imperialism—and he's against that, too. He rang the death knell of the Batista regime when he banned the payment of graft.

When Braden arrived in Argentina in May of this year, American prestige was at its lowest ebb. Six years of strained relations between the United States and dictatorial Argentine governments had culminated in a farcical diplomatic ballet in which Avra Warren, director of the State Department's division of Latin American affairs, Assistant Secretary of State Nelson A. Rockefeller and strongman Colonel (and Vice-President) Juan Peron, danced the leads. The background is important in order to understand the contrast with Braden's actions.

At the Mexico City conference in February of this year, the door was opened to Argentina. "We'll be glad to have you join the American community of nations," the conference said in effect, "if you will please put your house in order, release political prisoners, lift censorship, arrest nazis and freeze nazi funds." (Remember, V-E Day was still a hope then!) To the equal amazement of Argentine and American observers, shortly thereafter Avra Warren landed by Flying Fortress in Buenos Aires for a four-day whirlwind courtship of Argentina's fascist colonels. Three hundred political arrests were made within 24 hours after Warren's departure. The dance went on when Rockefeller hastily recognized the Argentine government, and then in a crescendo of unseemliness, jammed through Argentina's seating as one of the United Nations at the San Francisco meeting.

The point in all this was that the Argentine government had done nothing at all about cleaning house; in technical terms it had not "fulfilled its international obligations" as requested by the Mexico City conference. Just to make that official, Assistant Secretary of State Will Clayton informed the Senate in June that Argentina had "intervened" only four nazi concerns and left 104 nazi "spearhead" firms untouched.

Braden's job in Buenos Aires was largely political and ideological. He had to convince the Argentine people that we were still a democracy and not an umbrella for fascists; and he had to disabuse the Argentine government of any latent belief that the Warren courtship meant a Braden honeymoon.

BRADEN'S methods have been criticized as being too direct, and that skirting tactlessness on the one side, he skirted intervention on the other. But Braden has the quality which Napoleon prized above all others in his generals: he is lucky. He was lucky in Cuba and he was lucky in Argentina. Braden says complacently that he was also right. Despite the merits of the argument, Braden's method was strictly unorthodox.

His approach was to uncover the taboos one after the other. On arrival he asked after friends he knew were in jail—and they were released. (Political arrests in Argentina, since June 1943, have probably totaled 10,000 with a high at any one time of about 1,800). Until the recent ouster of Colonel Peron there were probably some 200 persons still in jail there for "political" offenses, but Underground leaders ascribe the relaxation of arrests to Braden. He lectured at Argentine universities on the Good Neighbor Policy and democracy—both hitherto forbidden subjects. He protested threats to American newsmen, on the grounds that Argen-

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tina had subscribed several international agreements to respect liberty of press—and thus indirectly contributed to the lifting of domestic censorship. In public speeches he pointedly referred to fulfillment of international obligations which, considering the record of recent Argentine governments, was like talking of ropes in the hanged-man's house. And just to make sure the local fascists knew he had their number, at one of his last press conferences in Buenos Aires he referred to interesting data including places, names and dates, given American occupation troops in Germany by ex-German Ambassador Baron von Thermann—and then kept up the suspense by refusing to reveal what von Thermann had said on the grounds of military security.

Braden's one man war of nerves was effective. To the Argentine people Braden became the symbol of democracy, a living witness that the people of the United States sided ideologically with them and not with fascism. Colonel Peron tried to muzzle Braden—and went so far as to hint assassination. And to the everlasting credit of the Argentine people, it was they who came to his defense.

Peron's recent forced resignation is a turning point in current Argentine history. Developments there are rapid but at this writing there seems to be at least one valid conclusion: The Argentine people took heart from Braden's courage and renewed their fight for democracy. A score of university students now dead and hundreds beaten by the brutal police became the martyrs of that fight. But if they have not yet won the victory completely, that victory cannot be long delayed. Peron dethroned means that the end of military rule by force is in sight, together with its substitution by constitutional government.

The Braden Legend

AMERICAN embassies are built to order for Braden. He absorbs the ceremony and splendor and the sense of responsibility for important decisions with a fine and inexhaustible enjoyment. The comparative drabness of being just another Assistant Secretary of State may irk him eventually, but his time in Washington will surely contribute something to the Braden legend.

That legend is a rich compound. It begins with his phenomenal zest for work and play. He has fantastic working habits and spares neither himself nor his staff when there is work —or play—to do. An attaché once commented that Braden should have three staffs to accompany him in shifts. The legend includes his capacity for dry Martinis, his chain smoking and daring bridge playing; his love for the samba and the waltz, which, though he is bigger than Leon Henderson, he dances with more grace. It comprises countless stories of secretaries and their wives snoozing away the early morning hours in quiet corners at receptions—compelled by protocol to wait until the Ambassador leaves. It is as varied as his fondness for pheasant and grouse, his dislike of profanity, his strong moral principles, and his ability to smell a fascist. And surely the finishing touch is his unusual command of Spanish—rich in flavor, accent and vocabulary.

To his Chilean wife, Braden ascribes much of his successful understanding of Latin psychology—and he still considers his marriage the most important event in his life. While still a young engineer, (he was barely 21,) he had returned to Santiago after an ill-fated expedition in search of a lost mine high in the Chilean Andes. One of his *peons* had died on the trip; another had fallen ill at 16,000 feet and Braden had carried him down the mountainside on his back until he found help. That first night in Santiago, trying to get away from it all, Braden attended the opera and met a Chilean society beauty—Señorita Maria Humeres del Solar. They were married three months later; in their thirty years of married life they have been separated only four times for more than 24 hours; and, grandparents by now, they still hold hands in the movies. This, too, is part of Braden legend.

* * *

As Assistant Secretary of State in charge of relations with Latin America, Spruille Braden has arrived practically at the top of appointive positions in government. He loves power and in a strictly professional sense his approach to diplomacy in all its unconventionality pivots on his conception of power and its use. Braden, the businessman, has understood that the first job of American diplomacy is no longer obtaining concessions for American big business. And Braden, the democrat, believes the first duty of American policy to be the assumption of ideological leadership in a world torn by doubt and fear. In his new position he will have the broadest possible range for the application of his principles in a region he knows intimately, and among a people whom he loves.

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the roaring fire

A Story

by HOWARD RODMAN

ALL the time he sat by the small fire and shivered, he tried to imagine that it was a blaze in a comfortable room. But the wind ate through his jacket and his legs were tired from squatting. And the mud seeped through the soles of his shoes.

Now and then someone fired a short burst from a machine gun, because he was bored maybe, or maybe to keep the gun warm. He jumped, anyhow, every time it came.

The damned sun didn't have any warmth.

Mike crawled over to his fox-hole and huddled down beside the fire, extending his hands for the warmth.

"Where'd you get the wood?" Mike asked.

"Picked it up," he said.

"I didn't see any."

"You didn't look."

"Chris', even a fire don't warm you up," Mike said.

"It's a little fire. What do you expect?"

Mike shrugged.

"Let's go out and get some more wood and build a hell of a big one," Mike said.

"Ain't no time. We pull out of here just as soon as they get that strong point."

"We got plenty of time. They're just working up on them. They ain't even started shooting yet."

He spit on the ground.

"Nope," he said, "This is enough for me."

"You know what I'd like?" Mike asked.

He didn't answer.

"A shot of whiskey."

"You and how many others?"

"There's the stuff that warms you up," Mike said.

"Shut up. It's cold enough now."

"Let's go out and rustle up some wood."

"I told you, no."

"Come on. We could get the biggest damned fire in the world."

"That's the way you feel, rustle up your own wood and build your own fire."

Mike grinned.

"I like company," Mike said.

"No dice," he said.

They sat beside the fire for a while without talking.

"Want some K ration?" he asked Mike.

"Sure. We can cook the meat."

He broke open the package. They opened the meat can and poured the meat into Mike's canteen cup. Mike held the cup over the fire.

"You think there's enough heat here to warm this up?" Mike asked.

"Listen," he said, "I'm tired of you sneering at my fire. You don't like it, beat it."

"No offense."

Mike studied the fire for a while, moving the cup from side to side to keep the handle from getting hot.

"It's a pretty good fire," Mike said, "for a little fire."

"That's where you're wrong. It ain't little."

"You said it was little yourself before."

"It depends on how you look at it."

"How you mean?" Mike asked.

"Take a match," he said.

HOWARD RODMAN—*The publication of "The Roaring Fire" celebrates Sgt. Rodman's release from the armed forces. He intends to write plays and short stories. Servicemen may remember Sgt. Rodman as the author of the one-act prize-winner, "House on Fire" which was produced in USO's throughout the country. Good luck, Sergeant!*

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"Yeah."

"A match is pretty little. It ain't much of a fire at all, is it?"

"Well," Mike said, "This here is bigger than a match."

"Sure it is. If you're going to look at it from that point of view, it's a damned big fire."

"Yeah," Mike said.

He shivered.

"I feel warmer already," Mike said.

"You think a match ain't much of a fire, don't you?" he asked.

"You said it was little, not me."

"Well look at it this way," he said. "What started this fire?"

Mike thought.

"Your cigarette lighter?" Mike asked.

"Yeah."

"That ain't a match," Mike said.

"It's a kind of a match."

"Well, no. I'd argue that point."

"Well," he said, "You could light a cigarette lighter with a match, couldn't you?" he asked.

"Sure. But it ain't necessary," Mike said.

"But you could, couldn't you?"

"Yeah, you could."

"So there you are. A match could light a cigarette lighter, and a cigarette lighter could light this fire, and this fire could start a barn burning, and if there was a city around, you could have another Chicago fire, and that ain't so small, is it?"

"That's pretty big," Mike said. "You got another piece of wood?"

"Yeah."

He took a piece of wood from inside his jacket and laid it on the fire.

"That meat ought to be about ready," he said.

Mike dipped his finger into the cup.

"It's warm," Mike said.

They took out spoons and ate, each taking one spoonful. They measured each mouthful to make sure the shares were equal.

"You know," Mike said, "we should have a violin."

"Why?"

Mike pointed to the fire.

"Potentially," Mike said, "Rome is burning."

They chewed their food to make it last longer.

"I don't know," he said. "Moscow burning in front of Napoleon must have been a hell of a lot better."

"Why?"

"Cause there was all that snow around. A fire is better on a cold day."

"Just the same," Mike said, "fire or no fire, they was freezing."

"That's funny," he said.

"What?"

"Here we got a little fire and it's keeping us warm, and they had the biggest fire in the world and they were cold."

"Their feet were cold," Mike said.

"Mine, too."

"I mean they were going backwards."

"Yeah."

They ate another mouthful.

"You think this would keep a German warm, really warm?" he asked.

Mike considered.

"No," Mike said. "Nothing can keep the nazis warm. Nothing."

"Why?"

" 'Cause they're losing."

The tanks started on the strong point. They could hear the heavy blasts of the tank guns and then the sharp, fast bursts of the answering German machine guns.

A whistle blew. They picked up their equipment and slid out of the hole toward the fire. The machine-gun fire kept up.

"They must have a pillbox," Mike said.

"Yeah," he said. "Looks like our job."

They crept forward from point to point until they could see the concrete dome. They inched forward until they reached a blind spot. Mike sprayed flame from his flame thrower into the crevice where the gun stuck out. The flame curled around the gun barrel, into the pillbox. It was heavy flame. It reached out like fingers. The machine gun stopped.

When they were sure the box was through, they went inside.

They stood looking at the charred, cindered bodies.

"You think they're cold?" he asked.

"Yeah," Mike said, "they're cold."

"What about hell?" he asked. "Do you think they'll warm up in hell?"

Mike shrugged.

"That's something to think about," Mike said.

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FRANCE WEIGHS HER FUTURE

by Emmanuel d'Astier de la Vigerie

—a great French authority analyzes reactions in his country.

ADMITTING the difficulties of clarifying the opinions and trends of any people in international affairs, the problem is further complicated in the case of France by the fact that this country has been affected, psychologically and physiologically, more than any other country in the world, by war, by defeat and by occupation.

During those four years France was not nationalistic. Not even today is she really so, though the dangers the country has undergone have given Frenchmen a more mature concept of patriotism. They have realized that only the virtues of patriotism cause the self-denials and sacrifices needed to save a civilization intimately identified with French ideals and customs. Patriotism means that what the centuries and the world have given France she must make fruitful for the use of all. The very notion of "patrie," the fatherland, is thus filled with internationalism.

During the occupation there was a fraction of our citizens who, exhausted by the agony of life, malnutrition and ill-health, thought only of survival, of subsistence, of work to repair things a little, to make a more decent life for their families. But another fraction, always growing in number, joined the Resistance and exhausted its nervous reserves. Yet not even this fraction was touched by nationalism. It joined the fight and fought the fight on account of ideas both higher and more human: liberty; democracy; popular sovereignty; the shame of wars and of slavery; the danger of the all-powerful state. These ideas were predominant in the minds of those who Resisted. These men were far from the beatific pacifism holding France between 1920 and 1940 and which, in certain cases, resembled Gandhi's passivity. The thought of many men in the Resistance movement can be summed up in these terms:

"We want to save the peace by an international order checking the excesses of imperialism and of ideologies based on force or the superiority concept – such as racism or fascism. We want to make a world economically and socially more just, but we must take note of the realities. One of these realities is the vast development of certain powers, notably Russia and America. We shall fight for our ideas which demand that force shall no longer settle international problems. But for ideas to be even considered in the present world though we have no thought of copying the Frog that wanted to equal the Ox—we need an army, an industry, and a social and economic structure which shall cause the great powers to take us into account."

THINKING Frenchmen can be readily classified into three groups. The first is composed of those for whom a century of French history means only the overwhelming German menace. To them the solution of French problems depends only on the annihilation of Germany, or a complex system of alliances and coalitions for the same end. These men, for the most part middle-class burghers and extreme Rightists, are nationalists.

The second group of men have adopted, more or less, the basic principles of French socialism. They advocate the organization of peace, the limitation of sovereignty, the limitation of arms and collective security. This active and militant group includes men from the middle classes, the intellectuals and certain labor organizations.

The third group is represented by active members of the Resistance Movement, and is largely dominated by the Communists. They consider that the two elements of French security are the Franco-Soviet pact and the Anglo-Soviet pact, to be supplemented by an Anglo-French pact. They believe that the

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world will take many years before achieving an international organization, and while eschewing blocs, they advocate at least a partial organization in order, in practice, to insure a long period of peace in Europe.

And yet, this brief sketch gives an inexact idea of what the French people are thinking about foreign affairs. In the important popular mass which is identified with no political group and for which questions of doctrine are not important, two simpler ideas seem to thrive.

The first is that of men who believe that Russian power will for a long time, and perhaps forever, outweigh German power. These men are unworried by, and sometimes indeed are sympathetic to, communism and Marxism: they consider that the Franco-Soviet Pact will for a long time rule the affairs of Europe. The influence of Russian communism on our politics does not bother them. They judge that Russian expansion — if expansion there be — cannot injure France or France's rebirth.

On the other hand, the opposite of this proposition haunts the men who tie foreign to domestic politics. These are disturbed to see a Europe dominated completely by a power without a counterweight. They fear communism. They fear—or pretend to fear—Slav expansion. They look, therefore, toward combinations such as the Western Bloc, and such as Clarence Streit foresees in *Union Now*.

Having described these oversimplified reactions, it is only fair to repeat that among the men whose duty it is to guide French thought, the majority are convinced that the "realistic systems" have but a temporary value. They know that in the long run groups of alliances and the domination by the great powers end in war. They see that an international structure is necessary to distribute the world's wealth and broaden a satisfactory social level. They know that we must return to disarmament which, together with the limitation of national sovereignty, is the essential condition to the abolition of war.

LONDON hopeful of future AGREEMENT, if...—

EXCLUSIVE
LONDON CABLE
by Mary Seaton

BRITAIN'S pessimism at the breakdown of the Foreign Ministers' Conference has lifted somewhat with Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin's statement to Parliament. The press, politicians of all parties, and the people generally, are hopeful of further talks before very long. The Socialist *Daily Herald* expresses a widespread feeling in urging (1) that a meeting of the Big Five take place immediately with the heads of the governments and the foreign ministers present, (2) that the first purpose of their meeting be to re-examine the Atlantic Charter, the Casablanca, Teheran and Potsdam agreements and reduce them all to a single, simple, statement of Allied aims, (3) that this statement be published throughout the earth

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and be presented to the United Nations Organization, launched at San Francisco and now slowly coming into active existence, as the minimum agreed program of the major powers.

The House of Commons was grave and crowded when Bevin made his statement. It was noted that he was studiously conciliatory. The two main impressions were that he was genuinely optimistic about the prospect of future talks, and that he carefully put the whole emphasis on differences of procedure whereas it is well known in political circles that they only arose because of differences of principle. These differences, I am reliably informed, center on three issues. (1) Russia insists that an inter-Allied control commission run Japan, and is dissatisfied with the compromise proposed by the United States and supported by Great Britain. (2) Tripolitania—Russia is anxious to avoid being hemmed in the Black Sea by a British-controlled bloc of nations. (3) Disagreement between Russia and Britain and the United States about political regimes in Central Europe.

It is generally felt in British left-wing circles that Bevin is still in the hands of reactionary Foreign Office advisers. When, for instance, he made his first Parliamentary statement, one bitter comment of another Labor minister who had listened impatiently to Bevins *'Ongkonging* was: "He's picked up all Eden's principles and dropped nothing but his aspirates." Shortly before the Foreign Ministers Conference Bevin told the editor of a Conservative newspaper with whom he lunched, "I'm not going to let that fellow Molotov get away with anything."

Bevin is known to be anti-communist and the British communists here are pointing this out though they are by no means *au fait* or trusted by the general left wing element in the new swollen Labor Party.

THERE is much discussion here as to whether Russia's moves in Europe amount to a second wave of Russian revolution. It is generally realized that there never has been democracy as we understand it in Eastern and Central European countries and, therefore, the only alternative is dictatorship either by the Left or the Right, and the Left here would generally prefer dictatorship of Russia to one of the Right. However, the Left is apprehensive about the outcome because of some reports of behavior of Russian soldiers and governors.

The big question for Britain to solve is whether we cooperate with the Russians or build up a balance of power with America against them. From the present drift of world events it looks as if Britain is agreeing to turn the Pacific into an American lake in return for American support in Europe, and this encirclement, I am informed by parties near Molotov, is what Russia is determined to oppose.

Progressives abroad who have been dashed by Bevin's statements so far, must remember that he interfered to prevent two Spanish anti-fascists from being shot and is far from conceding undercover demands of Greek right wingers. The extreme Left in Britain, which claims he is nothing but conservative in foreign affairs, is not in my opinion entirely correct. Bevin is a genuine democrat even if more of a liberal than a socialist, and I'm convinced that in his heart he supports the idea of world cooperation and certainly he enthusiastically backs the present United Nations Organization now being set up. It is obvious he suspects Russia of a new imperialism and is convinced that strong-arm methods are best in dealing with Moscow.

One bright ray of hope is the External Affairs Committee shortly being set up by the Parliamentary Labor Party. This is a semi-official pressure group of MP's whose function will be to act as a liaison between the Labor Party and government. This will predominatly have a flavor of the Left in the Labor Party, and its prospective members hope to rescue Bevin from Foreign Office advisers who, they claim, are exploiting his ignorance in this field. It should prove influential in helping to get Labor's excellent international policy applied.

Certainly progressives abroad need not feel that Britain's new Labor Government is irrevocably tied to the apron strings of the foreign policy of the old conservative-dominated government. The foreign office itself is being reorganized, and the recruitment of ordinary efficient technical experts, rather than the traditional old school tie diplomatic type, will in future be favored. The breakdown of the Conference of Foreign Ministers coming so soon after a long and tortuous war, has given the world a jolt which perhaps it needs if it is really to throw its weight behind world cooperation rather than again creating spheres of influence. British progressives, despite their dislike of such pugnacious statements as General Marshall's demanding readiness for atomic war, are convinced that although the world is not approaching its most acutely critical period there is great possibility of it finally emerging into an age of genuine world cooperation and freedom for the common man everywhere.

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Nationwide AMERICAN OPINION POLL

CONDUCTED exclusively for FREE WORLD by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver, this poll represents a cross-section of general public opinion in the United States.

In our last month's poll, Americans answered in a majority of 78% that they favored international armament control; only 14% opposed such control and 8% had no opinion. Following the same general subject of arms and war, the NORC on our behalf asked this question:

> *"Now that the atomic bomb has been developed, do you think it is more likely or less likely that there will be future wars?"*

And here are the startling composite results:

Less Likely	57%	*No Difference*	22%
More Likely	1%1	*No Opinion*	11%

Breakdowns by economic levels, education, geographical distribution or political preferences fail to show any wide variance from this composite.

Our Next Question:

IN all the history of the United States, whom do you regard as two or three of the greatest men who have ever lived in this country?

FREE WORLD readers are invited to send in their comments directly to our editorial offices.

FREE WORLD, 144 Bleecker Street, New York 12, N. Y.

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let's have more propaganda

NORMAN ANGELL

THE second world war came because the Allies who had managed to agree and to hang together for the purposes of war, could not do the same for the purposes of peace.

And now the happenings in London, at the Council of Foreign Ministers, warns us that the same deadly cycle may be beginning all over again: having had effective, even close and warm cooperation in war, especially among the English-speaking elements of the alliance, we are finding the old inability to agree for the purposes of peace, and may not rediscover the secret of agreement until war does it for us: *da capo*. What, indeed, prevented, not merely a better understanding between Russia and the West, but a better understanding between Britain and France, Britain and America, Britain and the Dominions?

BUT here we enter an Alice-in-Wonderland area of international relationship. If a government, fearful that its neighbor may misunderstand its policy or purposes, attempts to explain its policy or purposes to those neighbors, the latter very commonly deem that attempted explanation, not merely an offensive act but almost a criminal one, one in any case to be controlled by inspections, elaborate questionings, regulations, reports, questionnaires. It is not only in Russia that the agents of a foreign government, engaged in explaining their government's policy, must conform to elaborate registrations and regulations imposed by law.

If Molotov or Bevin make a speech of any importance, every word of it is prominently printed in every important newspaper of the world, including every important daily in America. Russia or Britain could not possibly ask any more extensive propaganda. But suppose Molotov's or Bevin's government said: "We had better give the foreign public a chance to ask questions on that statement. We will therefore have Bevin (or Molotov) resign and go to the chief foreign capitals concerned, where we will set him up in an information office so that he can hold a series of press conferences, and foreign critics really can put him on the spot." From that moment he becomes a "propagandist" suspect, subject to control and inspection.

Words which, pronounced in London or Moscow or Cairo, would be gladly printed by every paper in the United States (America paying the cost) become "propaganda," demanding careful control if issued from a foreign government information office in Washington or New York.

What is it that we fear in the thing commonly called "foreign propaganda?" Do we fear that foreign nations shall present their case to our own public – British or American or French or Russian as the case may be? But if at this moment the world needs anything it is precisely that the people of one nation should understand the case of others. It is not an exaggeration to say that the peace of the world depends upon just that thing.

WHEN the British and Russian governments first resumed diplomatic relations shortly after World War I, it was suggested that the British government should secure undertakings from Russia not to carry on "propaganda." The suggested provisions to prevent the Russians from propagandizing the British public were quite elaborate. An Englishman who took

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part in these discussions ventured the observation that the British attitude was entirely wrong, in conflict with the best and most vital British traditions, and should be entirely reversed.

Instead of attempting to persuade the new Russian government to desist from preaching its doctrines, the British should have said to the Soviet government, in effect: "We and our public are anxious to hear your case. If you care to establish in London an information department explaining the position which you intend to take in European politics, we will give you every facility to make your views known to the British public. As a gesture of courtesy, we will reserve the Albert Hall for your best speakers, say once a month; and you will be free to present your views as effectively as possible. All that we ask in return is that you shall grant exactly the same privileges to us, so that we can establish in Moscow an information office whose publications shall not be subject to the Russian censorship but shall enjoy the same diplomatic immunity we propose to grant you. Representatives of British opinion—journalists, lecturers, radio commentators—shall enjoy in Russia also the same freedom we propose to grant yours."

The Englishman in question insisted that the British government should fight tooth and nail with the Soviets for that reciprocal principle of relationship between the two countries so that the discussion of the differences between them could be dragged out of the dark cellars of subterranean intrigue and brought into the full light of day. Although he was no fanatical defender of the British system as it then existed, he ventured the opinion that, if every Russian propagandist available was turned onto the British public, there would be extremely little danger of that public being converted to the Soviet system or methods. In any case, if the British institutions, economic or political, were so vulnerable that criticism coming from Russian "propagandists" could endanger them, they might as well be allowed to collapse.

That discussion took place a quarter of a century ago. If the relationship between the Soviets and the West had been placed upon that moral and intellectual foundation, at least some of the problems now bedevilling relations with Russia would be easier to solve.

TODAY'S disturbing parallelism with 1919 and the years which followed is pointed up by stories which come both from Japan and from Germany. Thus Tania Long cables the *New York Times* from Frankfurt-am-Main:

> "It comes as something of a shock to hear from an American soldier that Germany had no choice but war, or—the old German version—that Germany was forced into it by one man, Hitler, against the desire of the nation. All the old tales the Germans have been telling about the Russians can be heard repeated by many of our soldiers and officers. . . . Equally disturbing is the growing tendency to chauvinism or intense nationalism on the part of many of our men and officers, an attitude inflamed by their nostalgia for home. . . . This chauvinism expresses itself in the criticism of everything 'foreign', in derogatory and ill-informed remarks about the French, Russians, British, Belgians, Poles and Netherlanders, in comparison with whom the Germans seem to come out on top."

This correspondent also notes an aspect of American contact with postwar Germany which was an all but universal observation when American forces occupied German territory after World War I. The correspondent says:

> "The superficial aspects of German life, such as their cleanliness, their higher standard of living and their willingness to work hard, are confused in the average soldier's mind with the whole. The basic factors that govern the German people and have made them the world's problem children twice within a generation are forgotten in the face of Germany's modern highways, chrome plumbing and well-dressed girls."

Certain commentators dealing with these dispatches from Germany take them merely as evidence of the astuteness of German propaganda, and the tendency of American authorities to be too soft. The remedy the commentators suggest would be to get ever tougher with the Germans, to take ferocious measures to stop the German propaganda, and to punish all softness on the part of occupying authorities, including GI's.

There are not many things that one can be positive about in this era, but one can be quite positive in saying that such a policy will quite certainly completely fail. The occupation difficulties and the drift of Allied policy are not due to the excellence of the German propaganda directed at the Allies, but to the failure of Allied propaganda directed first at their own people, and secondarily at the Germans.

THE general tendency of such political education – propaganda – as we have maintained on the Allied side with its perhaps disproportionate dependence on the atrocities, the condition of the camps and so forth, has been to suggest that the German people are sub-human, biologically and inherently different from others, a race of congential monsters.

It is important to emphasize the atrocities, to make known, particularly to the Germans themselves, just what did happen in the camps. But

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it is even more important to emphasize the fact that those who did these things are people, at bottom, just like ourselves, who have the same kind of blood and glands and grey matter. These people are, moreover, capable of achievement as great and noble as anything which we can show, and the appalling deeds are due to the fact that they have got hold of the wrong ideas, have adopted an utterly impossible scale of values, a scale which turns right and wrong upside down.

If we fail to bring that home to the minds of our own people as well as to the Germans, but instead center our propaganda merely upon indignation at German conduct so fierce and savage that all persons of the German "race" are lumped together as born monsters and sadists, then we shall find that our propaganda defeats itself. For first of all, the GI or Tommy, as the case may be, will find out that our sweeping indictment is simply untrue; that whatever hells may have existed at Belsen or Dachau, the Germans are in many respects superior to some of their neighbors. The "propaganda" most serviceable to the Germans at this moment is not turned out by German authorities or the result of whispering campaigns, but consists, as the dispatches quoted above testify, of the excellence of their roads, their chromium plumbing, the fact that their civilization is on the material side modern and efficient, not unlike the American, while the "inherent monster" theory is disproved by every German child who strikes the lonely exiled American or British soldier as having the same irresistible appeal as childhood at home does.

In England, "German propaganda" works somewhat differently: farmers who have employed German prisoners side by side with other prisoners have found that the Germans come out on top for industry, sobriety, discipline: a fact which should be no news to Americans familiar with the achievements of German farmers in various parts of this country.

TRUE, great masses of the German people are to be held responsible for inertly tolerating infamy. But the German with whom the American or British may talk will have a word on that: several generations of Americans have tolerated the burning alive of Negroes unconvicted of any crime; dictatorships have existed in most of the twenty-one American republics (to say nothing of Louisiana); the British have Amritzar, the closing of Palestine to dying Jewish refugees; Petain, Laval, Peyrouton, Darlan were Frenchmen; and the Russian camps in the Arctic area for deportees from Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, are not precisely luxury camps. Nor are the crimes of aggression solely German. Nor are Germans the only people who have precipitated world wars. Napoleon, too, dreamed of world conquest, and his dream carried war over the world a hundred years before Germany began to launch her aggressions. In the century which followed the defeat of Napoleon the world as a whole suspected Britain far more than it did Germany. (There were plenty of historians and commentators prepared to prove in the decade that followed 1914 that Britain was more responsible for that first world war than was Germany.) Moreover, fascism was not invented by the Germans. It was invented by an Italian, whom the Italian people either supported or did not know how to resist effectively. So little, indeed, is it true that aggression, fascism, totalitarianism, militarism, is peculiar to the Germans that an Asiatic race on the other side of the world, the Japanese, have proved themselves capable of all the crimes of which the Germans have been guilty.

If we are to help GI Joe and Tommy from falling victim to "German propaganda" we must have a propaganda of our own which is not afraid to face these truths and help the common man to understand them.

Nor will it explain them simply by saying that we must "destroy fascism" and liquidate all fascists. Fascism is as ill-defined as terms like "democracy," which many, for instance, honestly believe is possessed almost alone by Russia but which others, equally honest, believe is most threatened by Russia.

Can we be said to know what the war is about, or to have fortified the minds of our peoples against error and fallacy, when questions of that order are left in the air unanswered, unresolved? Have we any basis at all for agreement at our conferences until we have faced these questions? Yet we are afraid of them; so often afraid of the other fellow's "propaganda"—when we ought to seek it, absorb it, learn what is false in it, and what true.

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unity among humans

By PIERRE SAUVAGEOT

——can man still consider himself to belong to one nation, one caste, one race?

THE boundless energy hitherto locked within what we call "matter" has revealed itself in a frightful explosion; has revealed itself as being from now on, for better or for worse, at the service of man. We have burst, by means of an incredible upheaval, into the Year I, Atomic Age.

If we do not wish to plunge into total destruction, we must now set free upon this still young and savage world the love that until now has been imprisoned in the cruel heart of earthly man. For the peace that we are trying to set up will only be worth what the heart of man is worth. In the last six thousand years of its history the world has seen a total of scarcely one hundred years of peace.

Is this collective human heart at peace with itself? Listen to the thousand despairing voices already clamoring from the wreckage: class-hatred between the worker and the capitalist, race-hatred against Negroes and Jews, the hatred of those in need and the hatred of those who are clinging to what they have seized. Three centuries before Christ the Buddhist Emperor Ashoka said: "If hate alone replies to hate, when will hating cease?" Will we have to admit that greed above all guides the human race? Will we have to admit that through the symbolic heart of man, alloyed of gold and steel, only oil has so far pulsed and that it beats, now more than ever, in order pitilessly to exploit the weak?

Each of us would protest and defend himself. "Certainly I love my children and my family. I would fight and sacrifice for them and for my country." And we know that this is true. We have seen in the younger generation thousands of adolescents fired by an indomitable courage, working for a shining ideal yet immune to the temptations of glory, power, or money. But in the last analysis, since all religions enjoin us to love our worst enemy—do we not obey them in a strange manner, by pampering to excess our worst enemy—ourselves? Or by undertaking to develop our illusory and transitory personality, which distorts our true individuality and our identity with all others of the human race, or rather with all other forms of life? All of us, even the best, are responsible for a war that tortures us and distorts our compassion. There is in the whole universe no room for injustice. We never have been, nor ever will be, harmed by chance, but by ourselves. To the extent that we fail to keep a constant peace on our own hearth, with our friends and our children, we must share responsibility for the war. To the extent that we fail to keep peace with the being we love most in the world—our own spirit, torn as it is by unrest, by distrust, by desire and resentment—so we take part in aggravating the terrible abscess that man lances every so often with iron and flame. Let us stop shifting the blame onto others!

Therefore it is now, in a time of obsolete dogmas, of identical messages from rival churches, of contradictory or incoherent dicta from the various sciences, that we must formulate the essential statement concerning the absolute and profound unity of the human race and the reality of the spirit alone. The confines that we have established in time and space for the history of man must be extended to infinity. As the rose one day old said to the rose only one hour old, in the Persian legend: "Don't worry—within the memory of the rose, a gardener has never been known to die." Let us evolve a memory longer than that of a rose.

In order to establish peace upon a solid basis it is time now to define the goal of this hard ascent toward unity. We have evolved from consideration of the earth as center of the world, to that of the sun as center of the universe, and on to that of the Milky Way as it spirals in infinity, itself a galaxy lost in space

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Courtesy Nierendorf

THE TOWER OF BABEL

by Jos. Scharl

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among millions of other and even more tremendous galaxies. Ancient man, ruler of a world created to satisfy and comfort him, had integrated himself among the other living creatures; but the barriers between the phases of nature dissolved, then the distinctions between the various forms of matter as solid, liquid, or gaseous, then between living and inert matter, were abolished. Finally everything, spirit or matter, is energy, vibration. Everything is life—life is everywhere, from the pebble, the blade of grass, the giant sequoia, animals and men, even to the infinite emptiness that so terrified Pascal. In this shoreless ocean, reservoir of eternal life, in this perpetuated gathering of whirlpools, where spirit and matter are simply variations in vibration and no more, what possibility of differentiation can be found?

Absolutely none. The human body, living only by means of continuous exchanges with the sun, the air and water, the minerals transmitted to it from the earth by plants and animals, is one with the evident universe. Has man still any right to mask or conceal his identity? Can he still sincerely consider himself as belonging to one nation, one caste, or one race?

If one realizes that the essential features of one's heredity are decided by the genes of forty-eight chromosomes inherited equally from one's parents, and so derived from one's four grandparents and eight great-grand-parents, and going back only to the time of Charlemagne the total is 2,157,381,078 direct ancestors, what happens to the mocking and cruel myth of a pure race? And how can any one of us claim not to have several thousand ancestors in common with Julius Caesar, the elevator-boy at the hotel, the Grand Rabbi of Jerusalem, or even that naive and virulent prophet of hatred between religions and races, Senator Bilbo?

There is therefore no pure race. Nor is there such a thing as caste, and the lines we draw to limit the personality of a specific human are altogether arbitrary. These limits have been created and are maintained for the most part by the greed of those really responsible for the war.

Where, then, lies the ultimate Real in man? It can only be in the spirit. But even here, even if one wanted to omit from consideration all the billions of ancestors whose blood has altered the vehicle and instrument of the spirit, think how many Hindu, Greek, or Chinese philosophers, Assyrian and Egyptian priests, Chaldean astronomers, doctors, sages, thinkers, writers, peasants of every age and every civilization have nourished, shaped, given form to, this spirit.

As Berthelot said in his magnificent discourse on Waves, before the Academie des Sciences: "By lifting one's finger here on earth, one can affect the pressure on Sirius, or, in a smaller scale, by throwing a pebble into the Seine, one can change the tide-level in San Francisco bay." As soon as men understand that they are only cells in an immense body, that there is not one thought or action of theirs that will not return upon them, they will avoid thoughtlessly throwing a pebble into the Seine, that is, they will avoid any thought that does not fit into the law of unity, of which the essential feature is love. Then they will try to come to that calm country of the impersonal idea, so as to understand at last the Buddhist proverb, the recipe for peace that is at first so surprising: "Talk of nobody, even to praise him." And perhaps the day will come when mankind, having repudiated violence, can no longer be represented by the monstrous features of the Catoblepas in the "Temptation of Saint Anthony"—that bird so stupid that it devours its own feet.

That is why it is time to build upon these irrefutable cosmo-biological bases, which, vast as they are, are open to the meanest spirit, a temple in the heart of man; a temple to man's profound, absolute, and complete unity with the whole Universe—the sanctuary of The One Spirit.

India, spiritually more mature than ourselves, has refused to give a name to the *Atman*, the ruling spirit of the Cosmos. India says to man: "Look within yourself, for you are it."

PIERRE SAUVAGEOT *has for the past decade worked with an international group of physicians, agronomists and biologists on fertility of cereals, restoration of exhausted humus, diet deficiencies and related topics.*

JOSEF SCHARL *was among the numerous German artists who on account of their humane paintings and drawings were persecuted by the nazis. He managed to escape from Germany in 1938, and came to New York. His illustrations for a new American edition of Grimm's Fairy Tales have attracted considerable attention.*

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THEATER

Notes on the French and English Stages...

This is a new department. We have felt for a long time that we should give more attention to the arts. After all, the artist resumes in himself and his production the quintessence of the period and place in which he lives. He is taking a leading part in the rebirth of Europe. This issue of FREE WORLD *brings you the first of Mr. Norris Houghton's adult discussions. We hope that he will be able in the future to present news of developments in the theater abroad as well as in the United States, as they mirror human actions and the growth or recession of thinking, against the broad background of world understanding.—Mr. Houghton is on the staff of* Theatre Arts Magazine *and has recently returned from several months in Europe.*

THREE months after the invasion of Europe had been launched, as London entered its sixth year of war to the drone of buzz-bombs, I went to the Old Vic Theater Company's opening night at the New Theater. The play was Ibsen's *Peer Gynt,* absorbing poetic study of a man's lifelong search for a way to live. Later, during that last winter of the war, I returned to London from the continent; that time I went again to the Old Vic to sit in an audience dappled with uniforms to see Bernard Shaw's satire on the uniformed life, *Arms and the Man.* There was time, too, to go to the Haymarket Theater and see John Gielgud's new production of *Hamlet.*

The glory of London's wartime theater was the glory of Elizabethan blank verse, of Shavian paradox, of dazzling Restoration wit. England's theater met the greatest crisis England ever faced by giving hard-pressed and war-weary Londoners and countrymen the opportunity to see and hear the high ringing lines of England's greatest dramas. Life was too harrowing, too hectic and possibly too short to waste on anything less than the best.

The British, whenever things begin to get out of hand, regularly fall back on tradition. Luckily, therefore, the English dramatic heritage is strong enough to provide a firm refuge —and that is what it did during the war years just passed. How else can one explain the success of Congreve's seventeenth-century *Love for Love* which ran in repertory through the better part of three seasons? Or the sell-outs of *Richard III* and *Hamlet,* of Somerset Maugham's *The Circle,* of Oscar Wilde's *An Ideal Husband?*

None of these plays, to be sure, had anything to say about buzz-bombs and blitzes; they were escapist productions, if you please, but they did remind an Englishman that he had a great cultural tradition, that he was of a noble breed, that his country and her way of life, her poetry and her free play of wit, were all worth fighting for. A form of nationalistic propaganda you might call it, but propaganda in spite of itself, and only to be considered as such because the enemy across the Channel was saying that the English had had their day and must give up.

It was in this way that the English theater reflected completely that indomitability which characterized the Britons in this war—reflected it far more than did those cheerful little chin-up comedies, whether written by undistinguished craftsmen—pieces like *A Soldier for Christmas, Pink String and Sealing Wax, Quiet Weekend*—or by more distinguished dramatists, Terence Rattigan and his *While the Sun Shines,* for example, or Emlyn Williams and his *The Druid's Rest.*

I CAME to Paris from London a few weeks after its liberation. How does the theater reflect the temper of the French at this critical moment in their history, I asked. I had to wait a few weeks before the answer could begin to become apparent: there was no electricity in many parts of the city and Paris playhouses are scattered—left bank, right bank—as London's and New York's are not. But at last they began to reopen.

First I went to the Théâtre des Mathurins to see Alfred Camus' *Le Malentendu*: a study of psycopaths, involving a mother, brother and

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EVEN IN BERLIN THEATRE STARTS AGAIN:
A scene from "The Beggar's Opera," not shown for 13 years in Berlin, due to its "non-aryan" author BERT BRECHT *and composer* KURT WEILL. *Today it is a great success again. Some of the actors came from Nazi concentration camps. This play was selected because it requires a minimum of decorations and costumes—both very rare in Germany.*

sister. The brother is murdered by the other two when he returns unrecognized after twenty years. Next I went to see *Huis Clos* by Jean-Paul Sartre at the Théâtre du Vieux Colombier; it was the talk of the salons of the intelligentsia. I went in December, just before the "Battle of the Bulge." The scene is a locked room in which a man and two women find themselves. They are dead. The room is their hell, in which they must live interminably. One of the women is a lesbian. A drama of frustration, of nihilism.

Both of these plays were acted with distinction; there was a forcefulness in the performances that made them effective theater, but they were revolutionary neither in technique nor in subject. We would have called them daring in 1925, unless we remembered then that a previous generation had already called them daring in 1903.

It is difficult to know whether this neurotic negativism in the theater, which I felt not only in these but in other new French plays, reflected the temper of the time accurately or whether it was simply that the theater had not yet had time to speak for the forces of rebirth —forces necessarily kept out of public places during four long years, able to express themselves in a clandestine news-sheet but unable to call together and address a crowd as a living theater must of its nature do. I hope that the latter is the case. If it is not, and the French stage correctly records the French state of mind and spirit, then the Fourth Republic comes into being already tired and decadent.

That my report on the state of the French theater may concern itself not entirely with new plays but also speak of revivals and importations, I must record that the Comédie Française reopened after the liberation with an impressive repertoire that included a brilliant production of Moliere's *Le Malade Imaginaire* with

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the great comedian Raimu; an effective but somewhat long-winded presentation of *Le Soulier de Satin* by Claudel, *Antony and Cleopatra,* and *Tartuffe.* The Comédie probably provides the most stimulating theatrical fare in Paris today, but inevitably one looks elsewhere for the glimmerings of the future —and fails to find them.

Private Lives by Noel Coward managed to get itself across the Channel (in translation) early in the autumn after the liberation. Not until the spring of this year did the importation of more recent plays arrive. The two which drew Parisians' most persistent interest were Charles Morgan's *The Flashing Stream* at the Théâtre Pigalle and T. S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* presented at the Vieux Colombier. The Morgan pseudo-philosophical piece about love, mathematics and war pleased the French probably because war was only incidental and love and mathematics formed a combination irresistible to them. That Eliot's profoundly subtle study of the tragedy of martyrdom should appeal to the French at this time is equally understandable.

This mention of dramatic importations leads me to return to the London scene for a postscript on that subject there.

ENGLAND'S principal theatrical weakness is a dearth of playwrights. It is fashionable (and justifiable) to decry the lack of first-rate dramatists in the United States, but to the Englishman concerned for the future of his stage who looks across the Atlantic, we seem to be possessed of an embarrassment of dramaturgical riches. Furthermore he knows that although the classics may have provided inspiration during the days of stress, his stage cannot subsist indefinitely on yesterday's roast.

Because of this shortage of good new plays, London has become more and more dependent in recent seasons on importations from New York. When I arrived in the British Isles, in the autumn of 1943, *Arsenic and Old Lace* had already run through part of a season; it is still running—now in its third year. *My Sister Eileen* was a comparable hit. During the winter before the Invasion, American Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne scored an outstanding success in American Robert Sherwood's *There Shall Be No Night.* (Londoners, by the way, went more to see the Lunts, I believe, than to listen to Sherwood's play: by 1943 the plight of the small nations appeared to be too old a theme to arouse a people on whose streets and in whose homes the representatives and uniforms of a dozen exiled governments were such long familiar sights.)

I could mention half-a-dozen other American plays presented in wartime London: *Uncle Harry, Jacobowsky and the Colonel, Tomorrow the World;* more recently *The Hasty Heart* and *A Bell for Adano.* Probably the most distinguished importation of the past two years was Thornton Wilder's *The Skin of Our Teeth,* given a brilliant production under the direction of Laurence Olivier and brilliantly acted by Vivien Leigh, Cecil Parker, Joan Young. Wilder's play was the theatrical sensation of London's first postwar days. It was remarkable how accurately he had envisaged in the play's final act the state of mind and spirit in which man would (and did) emerge from the holocaust. It was this that gave the London performance of *The Skin of Our Teeth* an importance even beyond their original hearings in New York.

. . . and Broadway

YOU TOUCHED ME Produced by Guthrie McClintic in association with Lee Shubert; at the Booth Theater.

ABOUT five years ago a young dramatist named Robert Ardrey wrote a play called *Thunder Rock,* presented with only modest success in New York; subsequently produced in London it was a great hit. In England it was made into a movie in which form it returned to America to receive, belatedly, a better reception than it had originally enjoyed. *Thunder Rock* was Ardrey's plea to young men—to all men—to come out of isolationism, to join in the fight for a better world. One reason people said it failed in New York in 1939 was because it was presented before the American public was ready for it.

Tennessee Williams and Donald Windham have written a play that makes the same plea, but if it fails it will not be because it has been written ahead of its time. Its failure (insofar as it is unsuccessful) lies in the fact that its authors appear only partially to have realized, and its director not at all, that the theme of *You Touched Me* is exactly the same challenge as *Thunder Rock's.*

Ardrey's youthful lighthouse-keeper, marooned away from the world by his own

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fierce insistence, is the prototype of the young Matilda in *You Touched Me.* To the gentle English girl, living with her spinster aunt and bibulous old sea-captain father, comes Hadrian, the charity-boy adopted into the family and returned now an RAF flier. Hadrian, back on leave after five years of power plants and bomber raids, comes to warn her, because he loves her, of "the horrible noiseless danger of locked-up places." Like the phantoms of Charleston's imaginings in *Thunder Rock,* he points out to her that "the world is only dangerous when it is locked out," and he enjoins her in some fiery words to join in making the new world: "There's struggle ahead. Let's not sit it out in shut-down pottery houses. . . . The old frontiers are all used up." But there are new ones, "frontiers of thinking, frontiers of the mind." A new struggle must be joined, "the war *for* life not against it. The war to create a world that can—live without war."

If Mr. Williams and Mr. Windham had appreciated the urgency of the subject, they could have built a forceful play; but instead of meeting the challenge that they themselves had issued, they wandered off into a comedy of situation and of character, allowed themselves to become befuddled by some hazy symbolism.

Guthrie McClintic's staging further emphasized the confusion of the script. He directed most of *You Touched Me* into the form of a Broadway success. In doing so he spoiled this particular play's chances of becoming one. For the play's merits—which in spite of the confusion are numerous: interesting character studies, phrases and whole passages of poetic distinction—do not lie in stock tricks of comic burlesque character acting, nor in the boy meets-loses-gets-girl formula into which McClintic has allowed the play to descend by the third act. Smooth scenery and lighting of the Broadway success type, which Motley has provided, make no contribution; they only emphasize the adherence to formula.

The Glass Menagerie, Tennessee Williams' other play on Broadway, was not apparently directed to be a Broadway success and partly for that reason became one. The haunting, evocative reluctance of *The Glass Menagerie* in acting, writing, direction, scenery, lighting, music to yield to Broadway patterns gave it its rare magic. It is because we know Williams can traffic in it that we regret the substitution of tricks for magic. But in spite of all this, Williams can write and that is important and good news in our too nearly illiterate theater.

DEEP ARE THE ROOTS Produced by Kermit Bloomgarten and George Heller; at the Fulton Theater.

ARNAUD d'USSEAU and James Gow can write too, with plenty tricks and a minimum of magic, forceful, compelling melodrama. They can face a problem, hurl a challenge and not shy away from it as Mr. Williams and Mr. Windham have done in *You Touched Me.* In consequence their *Deep Are the Roots* is not only tremendously effective theater but drives its audience straight into the heart of the subject. The subject in this case is the race problem in postwar America.

Thoughtful Englishmen and Americans wondered a good deal, during the long months when our army was being assembled and trained in the British Isles, what effect overseas life might have upon our Negro troops when they returned home from countries where the lack of a color bar created for them a different social situation from that in America. *Deep Are The Roots* tells the story of one of these Negroes from a little southern town who comes back from abroad with the Distinguished Service Cross.

Gow and d'Usseau's plays, however, fool one into thinking they are better than they are; lead one to believe that they say more than they do. When you come down to it, *Tomorrow the World,* their successful play of a couple seasons ago, simply said, "We are faced with a frightful job when we try—as we must—to undo the harm the nazis have done to the minds and spirits of German youth." *Deep Are the Roots* simply says, "America hasn't really begun to solve the race problem—particularly in the South—and race prejudice, a bad thing, is going to take a lot of working on."

When well-directed and well-played, as is *Deep Are the Roots,* this kind of play sends you from the theater resolved to do something about it. But when you get home you realize that the authors have themselves not known how to answer the problem they have posed. For the solution they offer is neither very clear nor very constructive. They can arouse anger at a situation that angers them, but they cannot offer a sound course of action to remedy that situation. Their denouement is theatrical rather than social: a misfortune in a social drama as exciting as this one. But powerful social plays are few and far between on Broadway and this one deserves to be seen.

NORRIS HOUGHTON

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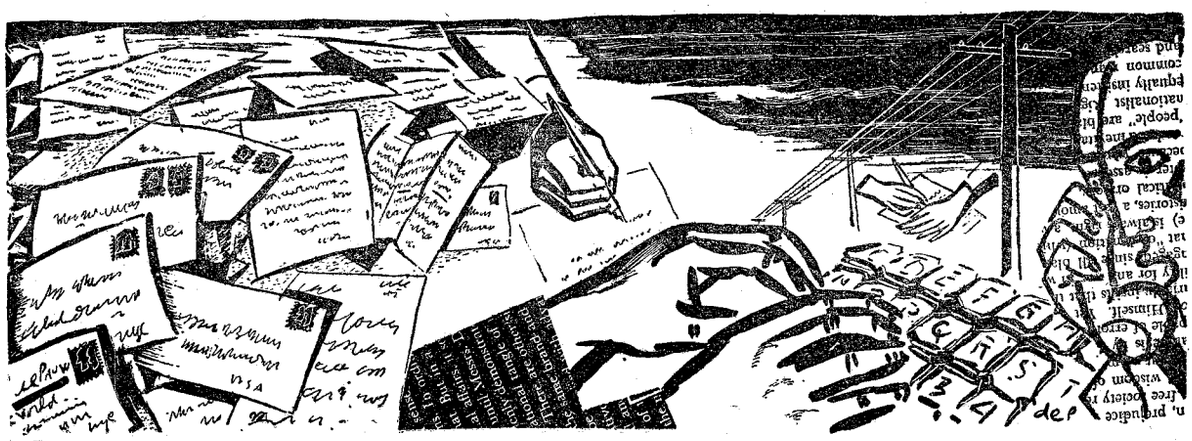

FREE SPEECH

LETTERS FROM OUR READERS

Curbs on travel opposed

". . . I am particularly interested in your articles on travel and their value in helping to bring about a more congenial understanding among mankind. I hope to see our State Department take a positive step soon in removing passport barriers and the Immigration Dept. (*sic*) simplify the regulations for foreign visitors to our country."

C. W. BARBOUR
Richmond, Va.

Little Enough to Give

Everywhere I go, I hear mothers of eighteen-year-old boys bemoan the fact that if their sons are drafted now, "their educations will be interrupted." To use the vernacular, so what? My husband, a pilot serving overseas, has had a slight interruption of three years in his normal life. It seems to me that a one or two years' interruption, to serve without danger of loss of life, is little enough to give to preserve the peace that other men bought with their sight, their limbs, their sanity or their lives.

MARTHA WILSON
Bossier City, La.

Keen Disappointment

Harry Emerson Wilde's interesting discussion of the Japanese press, in your August number, left one reader (a reader educated by many years' membership in the American Civil Liberties Union) with a feeling of keen disappointment. Instead of discussing how, in the light of all the facts adduced, American occupation forces could develop a genuinely free Japanese press, the writer merely states that such freedom must be a remote goal, and suggests which papers might be used to suggest "a *semblance of freedom.*"

C. I. CLAFLIN
Buffalo, New York.

Gratifying Response

A letter comes from South Africa relating that FREE WORLD's editorial "San Francisco and Beyond" which appeared in our April, 1945 issue was the subject of a forum in Capetown, Union of South Africa, conducted by the French Consul M. Brenac, under the auspices of the "Cercle des Amis de la langue Francaise."

The editors appreciate this additional evidence that the ideas of FREE WORLD find a responsive echo among all democratic men of good will.

THE EDITORS

Language in the Philippines

Linguistically the Philippine archipelago was formerly, and still continues to be to a lesser extent, a tower of Babel. Dialects change not only from island to island, but often within the geographic limits of the same island. This linguistic barrier, however, is fast disappearing.

English has only one rival as the national and universal language of the Philippines. In 1937 a nationalistic-minded legislature selected the dialect of Luzon as the national language, and a law was passed making this decision official. This law, however, should be repealed in recognition of existing conditions. English is in fact, if not by law, the national language of these islands. The lack of legal recognition is no barrier to its universality. Our American slang is fast taking hold, too

CORPORAL RAOUL M. PEREZ
Philippines.

Commendable Eagerness

It would be a great boon if FREE WORLD could come out twice a month—even at the expense of halving its size each issue. The world is moving at such a breakneck speed and the need for good ideas so fearfully urgent that we cannot wait . . .

World, or local democracy moves forward on intelligence and good will. Unless we can increase the supply of both, we shall probably not have for very long the democracy we so ardently long for.

J. G. MASTERS
Smithport, Pa.

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BOOKS

Morgenthau's Plan

by

JOEL H. FISHER

GERMANY IS OUR PROBLEM, by The Hon. Henry Morgenthau, Jr. Harpers. 206 *pp.* $2.00

WHEN in the last days of March, 1945, I arrived at Ludwigshafen, Germany, for the purpose of inspecting and determining what was left of the I. G. Farben plant the city was still smoking. Across the river from the direction of Mannheim and Heidelberg one could still hear distant guns. Huge clouds of smoke were rolling into the sky from smoke machines which had been installed to camouflage our bridges. At the Military Governor's office I obtained an interpreter who later turned out to be one of the Farben managers. At the Farben plant I met several other officials whom I interrogated. During the course of my visit I learned that only 10% of the actual equipment was destroyed, accounting for but 3% of total production. The interrogation continued for several hours at the conclusion of which my interpreter put his hands on his head and said: "Ach, my head hurts, I wish you wouldn't question me any further. Some of those bombers dropped bombs and caused me to have severe headaches whenever I am strained." I asked this man, called Kurt, whether he did not realize that these bombers had come because the Germans had caused the war. He countered quickly saying: "Ach, your propaganda! Any history book will show that Germany did not start the war. The war was started by England declaring war on Germany. It was just a little boundary dispute we were clearing up and England suddenly decided to interfere in a local matter." I asked Kurt whether he really believed this and he said it was true and to look at the history books. He seemed completely bewildered and perplexed that I should even ask the question and quickly repeated his statement. "This is fact, this is history. Look it up for yourself." We talked over other subjects. He was convinced that the Jews had to be purged because of their "large hold on the newspaper and theatrical businesses in Germany—which was influencing in a non-Aryan way the whole German culture." (He had just stated: "Some of my best friends were Jews before Hitler.") I asked him if he believed this. Again he looked perplexed and said: "Why this is fact." He thought for a moment; a quizzical expression came into his eyes: "Isn't it?" he asked. We proceeded from the plant to the Military Governor's office.

* * *

AS we were leaving the plant some American soldiers were carrying desk lamps from the plant buildings obviously for use in Headquarters. The interpreter turned to me and said: "I hope that appropriate records will be kept so that you can pay for each one of these items which you Americans are taking." At the Headquarters I paid my respects to the commander, a Lt. Colonel, told him of my mission, and explained to him that in his absence I had gone out to see the Farben official who was one of his interpreters. He beamed. "Did Kurt help you?" he asked. "Wasn't that nice?" He said: "Just a moment." He pressed a buzzer and Kurt hurried in. "Kurt, I understand you have taken good care of Commander Fisher. Thanks very much. I would like you to see that he gets anything he wants. He is a friend of ours. He is a representative from SHAEF and I will ask you as a favor to me to do everything you can for him, to be of assistance to him." I looked at the Colonel and in front of Kurt asked: "Is this the way you always treat Germans?" He said: "Why Kurt is a very intelligent man. I don't know what we would have done without him. He has been so helpful in obtaining billets and food for us. I am thinking of installing him as Mayor next week."

* * *

AT what is probably the largest optical factory in the world, located in central Germany, the local Military Government commanding officer and I talked with the manager of the plant. We learned that the production capacity of this plant which made periscope lenses, precision instruments, etc., for the Army and Navy was reduced to less than 1/10 of 1%. This was due to one bomb which had hit the factory when some German bombers were flying overhead and one of the bombers had jettisoned his bombs on the city. During the course of this discussion it developed that the factory had

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been building, during the past year, an underground factory in a hill just north of the city. The factory had been built in the space of nine months from the time the first excavation had taken place. The manager was very frank and stated: "If there is any one thing we have learned in this war it is that Germany must build all of its plants, including war plants, underground."

* * *

AS seemingly unbelievable as these facts appear in print, they occurred just as I have described them.

These are the facts, situations, and attitudes which Mr. Morgenthau keeps in mind as he discusses the German problem. Here is no wild program. Here is a program for dealing with the German problem. Mr. Morgenthau recognizes that one of the leading arguments advanced by the "Strong German" advocates is that Germany shall be made strong in order to act as a bulwark against Russian communism. This argument which is also being advanced by some responsible officials from the Pacific (to make Japan strong) is thoroughly analyzed and if I may say, effectively pierced by the former Secretary of the Treasury.

In November, 1944, I visited most of the portions of Germany we had occupied to date and was interested to hear from the men who had been fighting the Germans that they felt that what they had read of the Morgenthau plan in the Stars and Stripes indicated Mr. Morgenthau has the right idea.

We at SHAEF wrote our directives in accordance with the directives from the Combined Chiefs of Staff and the Joint Chief of Staff to give Germany a strong peace. It was not until April and May of this year (1945) that we began to receive at SHAEF and the Allied Control Council men with new thoughts, with views which did not follow the directives we had laid down. These men talked of a menacing Russia; they talked of the need of rehabilitating German economy. In many ways they were more anti-Russia than the German managers aforementioned. It is more than likely that the Russians felt this. These new commanders talked of the necessity for good press relations for the Army in Europe. It was important that we remove Germans and de-Nazify them from important government positions. They said that we should only remove persons who were actual members of the Nazi party because that is what the newspapers want to hear. We should build up our figures, they said, so as to show that we have removed a lot of people. When some of us asked these men what should be done with the Nazis after their removal from office, they said: "That is something else again, and the newspapers won't raise questions if we produce figures of extensive removals." There was also developing a new type of Military Government man—the man who felt that if he were tough on the Germans there would be unrest and disturbances in Germany and his job would be made more difficult. This man felt: "Aw, heck, there will be a war anyway, and I may as well have a good time."

(EDITOR'S NOTE: It is hoped that Mr. Fisher will soon be able to name names, identifying and isolating the officials who by tricks of procedure succeed in sabotaging the purpose of directives. Note also Mr. Fisher's explanation of their method of circumventing the watchfulness of the press.)

Calling freely on statistics Mr. Morgenthau shows that Germany can definitely start another war of aggression unless her heavy industry is rendered impotent. To those who argue that this would produce chaos in Germany Mr. Morgenthau has the answers backed up by statistics and graphic charts. The role of education; the future of Germany in a world security organization; etc., are all handled at length in a most convincing and realistic manner. The chapter with the self-explanatory title: "Bring the Men Home," gives Mr. Morgenthau's complete understanding of the U. S. soldier in Germany who utters: "These Krauts ain't so bad." Mr. Morgenthau's suggestions in this regard are not founded on sentimentality, an appeal for isolationism, nor lack of faith in the caliber of our soldiers. He analyzes the situation, the influences and stimuli to which our soldiers will be subjected and faces squarely the fact that the American soldier is "too inexperienced in the ways of international banditry to serve as a guard in the German reformatory." As Mr. Morgenthau develops his points through 206 pages of text and 23 pages of appendix it is apparent that he faces every fact relating to the future of Germany in a calm and clear manner.

JOEL H. FISHER

(EDITOR'S NOTE: We want to emphasize that while dominating European industry Germany precipitated international chaos twice within 25 years and will presumably do so again if allowed to rebuild. There is therefore a choice before the world: to prefer the comparative "chaos" of shearing Germany's war and industrial potential or allow Germany another try at chaos to achieve "Deutschland Uber Alles." Mr. Fisher, who reviews Mr. Morgenthau's book, is executive assistant to the Solicitor of the Department of Commerce. He served on SHAEF as chief of freezing and blocking funds, foreign exchanges and property controls in Germany. Before the war he was an attorney of the Treasury Department, specializing in foreign funds controls. He is a graduate of Syracuse U., *magna cum laude*. He "feels very strongly on this subject" of Germany's control.)

Dynamic democracy?

PRIVATE MONOPOLY, by David Lasser. Harper & Brothers. 306 *pages.* $3.00

This is a fighting book. According to Mr. Lasser, the only way for preserving democracy and for establishing a dynamic democracy is a people's revolution. About half of the book deals with private monopolies and monopolists—and he likes neither these nor communism and socialism. The author does not give anywhere a definition of

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these terms which he certainly interprets in a very broad sense. Sometimes one has the impression that big business or even business as such is to him monopolistic. Monopolies are responsible for all unfortunate and evil events in the political as well as in the economic field. They were godfather to the Axis; they helped create the military clique in Japan; they are responsible for Hitler and Mussolini, and also for the Spanish Civil War. The Russian Comintern was the Russian defense against international monopolies. In the chapter on cartels Mr. Lasser repeats all the accusations against cartels which were published in the last years, including the one blaming them for having delayed American preparation for war.

The author, who apparently is not a great student of industrial development, does not consider it necessary to corroborate his general statements by real research. He refers to numerous sources, but they are mostly secondary and usually newspaper reports. It is not surprising, therefore, to find a great many misrepresentations and errors in this part of the book. Space does not allow dealing with them one by one. (Just one should be mentioned: Mr. Lasser states that the hydrogenation process for making gasoline was kept quiet by Standard Oil lest it disturb the price structure for natural gasoline. The fact is, that until the outbreak of the present war, the production costs of synthetic gasoline were at least four times as high as those for natural gasoline.)

Eleven pages are devoted to Russia. The author is very careful in criticizing anything Russia might be doing, which is in contrast to his violent criticism of private economy.

Only one-third of the book deals with proposals of how to establish a dynamic democracy carrying out a people's revolution. His program starts with a new bill of rights which should meet the needs of full employment, full production, security and decent living standards. The program develops via higher income to the masses without letting the prices go up, opposition to extensive government ownership of industry, democratization of monopolies and the lambasting of the present setup in the broadcasting field as undemocratic. In the political field he states that the legal barriers against the formation of new political parties must be broken. It seems that the author would welcome a new organization or party, called dynamic democracy, perhaps following the pattern of the National Political Action Committee.

Mr. Lasser could have made his book more persuasive had he dealt in detail with his proposed dynamic democracy and his new economic program. More thorough research and less one-sided use of material would also have been helpful. As it is, this reviewer would suggest to FREE WORLD readers that they balance this occasionally stimulating book by also reading George Terborgh's *The Bogey of Economic Maturity* as an illustration of a thorough economic analysis of the present problem. They will thus get the other side of the picture as well.

ANTONIN BASCH

Cousins elaborates

MODERN MAN IS OBSOLETE, by Norman Cousins. Viking. 43 pages. $2.00

Early in the days of the blitzkreig, some men were persuaded that the conceptual lines of surveyors and treaty-makers were as obsolescent as the Maginot and Siegfried Lines. Some men were persuaded—not all. The era of the modern warplane and jet propulsion, with speeds exceeding 10 miles a minute and bomb loads ranging from two-ton block busters to eight-ton earthquake bombs, persuaded a few more—not all. Then in that distant Rocket Age, before August 6th, a few more men were convinced—still not all. So it is understandable why some of the comprehending men are afraid.

Among those who are not afraid is Norman Cousins, scholarly editor of *The Saturday Review of Literature*. Cousins faced the issue squarely and wrote the essay in SRL called *Modern Man is Obsolete*. It jarred men throughout our country into a realization of what had happened. He has now expanded that original editorial into a slim booklet—with the same title—packed with the same pungency, the same urgency and the same sanity.

Long before the eight-ton bomb, the anachronism of national boundaries was apparent to many men —not all. . . . "The greatest obsolescence of all in the Atomic Age," states Cousins, "is national sovereignty." And he charges that man "has exalted change in everything but himself. He has leaped centuries ahead in inventing a new world to live in, but he knows little or nothing about his own part in that world." The main test which Cousins sees confronting modern man "involves his *will* to change rather than his *ability* to change."

If nothing else, the ushering in of the Atomic Age will determine for all time whether modern man is a morally responsible animal who, in order to survive will concern himself with the well-being of every single individual within his species—where there can be no question of race, color, creed, national origins and like anachronisms—or whether he is intent upon a rodent's destiny as compelling as that of the lemmings. Mr. Cousins states:

"However great our reluctance to acknowledge the birth of the new age, the fact is that it is already here. What remains to be decided is whether we are going to stand up to it and meet it head on or whether we are going to back into it; whether we should fulfill its responsibilities and develop its promise, or whether we should try to circumvent it on the theory that what we don't think about can't hurt us."

Norman Cousins' book needs no plug from me, Whether you agree with his logic—and it's precise; whether you are persuaded to his thinking—and it's incisive; whether you like his style—and it's very good, *Modern Man Is Obsolete* is one of the challenging essays of our time.

JOSEPH HIRSH

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Mirror before America

ONE NATION, by Wallace Stegner and the Editors of Look. Houghton Mifflin. 340 *pages. Price* $3.75

"And is our face red " is the only rejoinder to the truthful advertising copy on this book, which says that it "holds a mirror to the nation's face." For here is devastating evidence in succinct text, but even more, in over three hundred powerful photographs, of the difficulty we as a nation are having in being "indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

The author is trying to remind us of the gulf between our democratic professions and our actual treatment of Filipinos, Japanese-Americans, American Chinese, migrant Mexicans and American-born Mexicans, American Indians and "Hispanos," Negroes,—and for full measure, some sharp pictorial reminders of Catholic and Jewish ill-treatment. The grand total of those most severely brought under the tensions of interrace, intercolor or interfaith prejudices and discriminations is around forty-four million souls.

One third of a nation live on the other side of "a wall down the middle of America, a wall of suspicion, distrust, snobbery, hatred and guilt."

This book pulls no punches in either text or candid camera shots in establishing that thesis. Rather, it packs a wallop which sends even the most seasoned student of our American dilemmas reeling to the ropes. Which means that it succeeds admirably in being the disturber of the peace which it hopes to be.

For analytical treatment of the "whys" of the problem the reader should go to more technical sources. But with the general premise of this study, I for one cannot disagree. Wallace Stegner says, in line with most of the wisest students: "Underlying all our prejudices, racial or religious or cultural, is fear — the fear of being swamped, overrun, changed or converted or diluted, done out of our jobs or our social position."

If white Protestant-America wants to see what its fears lead to, let it read this book.

Indeed, why not have a motion picture made of this material and show it in school assemblies up and down the land?

A universal problem needs a universal medium of attack. A book at $3.75 invaluable as it is, should be but a beginning.

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Henry Morgenthau's

GERMANY IS OUR PROBLEM

If we had read and understood Hitler's doctrine in time we might have avoided the second world war. If we read and profit by Mr. Morgenthau's warning we should be able to prevent that third world war for which we know preparations have already begun."

New York Times Book Review

$2.00

HARPERS

No more Mikados

JAPAN AND THE SON OF HEAVEN, by Willard Price. Duell, Sloan & Pearce. 231 *pages.* $2.75

It is human nature to seize upon the more personalized aspects of great events. Thus the ordinary Occidental, hoping for a democratic Japan in future, finds his interest centering mainly upon Japan's Emperor. The Emperor may in time prove considerably less important—save in bringing unexpectedly sudden and complete national surrender—than many of us have pictured him. That remains to be seen, but meanwhile an intimate and complete set of facts have been set forth by Willard Price.

During his residence in Japan it happened that the author lived next door to the country residence of the Emperor at Hayama. This afforded some firsthand glimpses of the Son of Heaven, and provided a good many anecdotes from the neighbors who responded readily to Price's shrewd policy of professing complete lack of interest. It also gave Price a core for a general inquiry into the whole imperial institution.

It is clear that, unlike many who want to get rid of Hirohito, Price finds nothing objectionable about the man personally. However much the puppet of Nipponese warlords, Hirohito is portrayed as one who was democratic in his youth and in his maturity, as the gentleman-student. Indeed, though the very heart of a grandiose scheme of conquest, Hirohito is shown as probably personally averse to his role. Writes Price:

"He seems hardly the type of man to aspire to be God of the world. He is a man of tastes that can

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be satisfied in a small garden or the waters beside it. I saw him once standing on the grassy point listening to the sounds of the village, turning his head in the directon of this sound or that as it dominated over the others. Only one whose own ego did not clamor could have enjoyed as he seemed to the low note of the Nichiren drum on the mountain side, the 'Nat-to-o-o-o' of the steamed-bean vender, the flutes of the pilgrims, the distant chorus of his guardsmen in their barracks, and—most thrilling sound of all to the mood quiet enough to receive it—the crystal stair of song of the *uguisu,* Japanese nightingale, perched high in the pines over the tile roof of the palace."

Nevertheless, Price is stern in his judgment that militarism and the institution of the Emperor go hand in hand, and that to eliminate one we must do away with the other as well. Events have been running ahead of all the books, even this one; certain judgments may have to yield before the test of our occupation authorities. But Price offers decidedly valuable facts regarding the whole Japanese governmental set-up, and he does not join with certain of the Emperor-haters in sweeping denunciations of the Japanese people. Instead, he finds them victims of maleducation who, if properly instructed, possess clear talent for democracy.

Japan has been the last country to grow up, says the author. It has been the victim of a stunting as skillful as that which the Japanese can administer in dwarfing trees. He makes clear the devastating effect of Japan's present constitution, "one of the cleverest documents that has ever deluded gullible human beings." Of Shinto, he says that it is not enough to give a people freedom of religion, they should also have "freedom *from* religion." Once the Japanese are emancipated from the various mental and physical thralldoms which have entrapped them, Willard Price feels that they will make a true constructive contribution to a free world.

RANDALL GOULD

Mowrer's Europe

THE HOUSE OF EUROPE, by Paul Scott Mowrer. Houghton Mifflin, 647 *pages.* $3.75.

It has been said that true biography is the best history. One might supplement this observation with an added reflection on the autobiographical contributions of the newspaper correspondent who, as the late Dr. John H. Finley pointed out, was "an historian in the present tense—a man who records and interprets history at the moment of its making."

From the abundance of contemporary journalistic autobiography—Negley Farson, Webb Miller, Vincent Sheean, Frederic W. Wile, Bob Casey, etc.—we

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PRIVATE MONOPOLY

THE ENEMY AT HOME

by DAVID LASSER

What about—cartels, anti-trust suits, the future of government plants to compete with monopolistic companies and industries? Can we bring private monopolies under truly democratic control? Questions like these are constructively considered in this book. " 'Private Monopoly' is a penetrating analysis of the effect of monopolies and cartels in creating the economic conditions which led to the last war. It should be read by all who are interested in the future peace of the world."—*Former Judge Thurman Arnold.* $2.00

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have drawn some of our best understanding of the aspirations, the fears, and the conflicts of our generation. Compared with the posthumous apologias and memoirs of statesmen and generals which clamor for the spotlight after the war and their careers have ended, the reporter's notebook easily emerges the more accurate historically, for it conveys the true sense of crisis in the market place. It is the impersonal camera of what it has seen and the unbiased conduit of what it has heard. And because most newspapermen's biographies are essentially essays in self-dramatization, they possess the cardinal quality of inducement to reading.

While none of the distinguished gallery of correspondents enumerated above will necessarily have to be cast from their pedestals with the appearance of *The House of Europe,* they may certainly move over and make room for its author, Paul Scott Mowrer, former European correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News,* later its editor-in-chief, and, at present, editor of the *Paris Post.* Here is another journalist with a fine talent for evoking an era—the era in which he lived and worked, and during which he occupied a grandstand seat at the most momentous show in history. In a work which shows manifest signs of wide and important contacts and a keen perception of political and human values, Mowrer ranges over the whole field of European affairs. He moves from the pre-World War I period, through the noise and the tumult of the turbulent decade following the Versailles settlements and finally overlaps, all too briefly, into the Brown Shirt era leading to World War II. It is an honorable and colorful record of a well-spent life—though by no means a final chapter, since Paul Scott Mowrer has returned to the postwar European scene to begin a fresh adventure in journalism.

Mowrer explains, somewhat apologetically, that when his publishers invited him to write an autobiography, he induced them to accept a treatise on politics. He does not explain whether the present autobiography evolved from the political treatise or, if the two ideas were eventually blended into one —*The House of Europe.* The question arises because certain conclusions of public interest may be drawn from the purely biographical context of the book.

Mowrer apparently aimed, and certainly succeeded, in projecting his own inward uneasiness onto the larger screen of Europe's growing tension and confusion. This is especially true in the final chapters when the author describes his growing indignation at the rising tide of fascism. In *The House of Europe* you travel the tortuous road toward war with a sense that you have been over this road before. It is an important and valuable job that Mowrer performs when he takes you back and reminds you that here and there and in this way and that way were laid the foundations of our present chaos.

Mowrer's story ends with his return from Europe eleven years ago. As you put the book down you seem to be back to the confusion and bewilderment which pervaded the scene when, in 1934, the author left behind him a Europe of strident nationalisms, conflicting ideologies, power politics, and plain hate.

Although, when the author closed his story the B-29 was still in the laboratory and the atomic bomb was an H. G. Wellsian projection, the implications of what he said in his abandoned political treatise, now integrated in his autobiography, are clearer today than they could have been yesterday. True, there have been cataclysmic transformations since then—opinions, ideas, aspirations reflecting a changed Europe, a changed world. Even the stones are no longer the same. A great shifting of power has taken place; and when power shifts, men shift with it. Nevertheless, when this observer writes that the oldest known principle of politics is the balance of power, and that Americans execrate it because they misunderstand it, he might be writing of the late, unlamented Conference of Foreign Ministers in London.

When you finish *The House of Europe,* you must conclude, as this reviewer did, that in this country, as elsewhere, there are only two groups which really count—those who mean to win the peace and those who do not. In other words, those who consciously will a new, free world, and those who are cravenly content with a bankrupt past.

BURNET HERSHEY

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China's poetic charm

OREVER CHINA, by Robert Payne. Dodd, Mead. 573 pp. 3.50

Robert Payne, an Englishman in his thirties, went to Free hina in December 1941. This is his diary and it ends on aster Sunday, 1944. If the entries that are now published ere originally made in the diary, then the author is indeed masterful archivist. He is also a master of English style, so uch so that at moments one is confused whether *Forever hina* is a great novel or straight autobiography. And Payne oes not hesitate in exaggerating fact to emphasize story.

China folds in upon poets like Robert Payne who bury emselves in its language, literature and history, fitting their ves into the purely academic and scholastic native environent. Countless Americans and Europeans have preceded e author in such escape from the West. The effect upon em was similar but it remained for Payne to present their elings so fully and in such prose.

The author went to China with the training of five unirsities, the civil war in Spain, and Hitler's Austria behind m. He introduces into this book the story of his participaon in an attempt on Hitler's life in Vienna. Except for ie brief assignment as war correspondent at the battle of hangsha for the London *Times,* the author taught English erature at a wartime Chinese university. He lived as a inese, honestly experienced the sensations of weather, ountains and remote temples, all the while appreciating e confidence and hopes of students and intellectuals. Aside om meetings with a few Chinese statesmen and generals, yne does not write about politics, economics or national licies.

"I believe that China is best represented through her poets—a belief which Chinese themselves share to a degree which is unknown in other lands," says Payne. In fact, consciously or otherwise, *Forever China* is set down in pretty much the same style as Chinese poet-historians of the 9th century handled the life of their times.

For philosophy of China and the world at large, Payne uses an alleged American correspondent, Karl Vergery, "a man who loved people and peace." For the impact of Japanese invasion, he uses the discussions of Chinese professors and students who fled the occupied coastal areas to the crudeness and freedom of western China. It was from scholars like these, and one poet in particular, that Payne draws his deduction: "China will last as long as her scholars and her arts endure. China will last forever. She cannot fail, for her roots touch the earth and her spirit is continually in the heavens."

Robert Payne did not get into Occupied China but he skillfully introduces the issues raised by Japanese invasion through the device of "conversations" with a Mongolian, a Manchurian and a Korean.

He sat entranced on "The Moon Regarding Platform" of a temple and recalled that during the T'ang Dynasty 22,000 poets wrote 48,900 poems, and "the great majority of the poems were good." He is inspired to translate many of those works for his book, to which he adds others of his own composition.

Forever China does not present the whole picture of modern China, but it is important and true of its own segment. Capability and sensitiveness mark this as a lasting contribution.

JOHN GOETTE

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who had exceptional opportunity to observe the rise of Nazism from the vantage point of the American Embassy in Berlin, proves dramatically that what happened to the people in Germany can happen to anyone in any country. *Sowing The Wind* probes the heart of a nation whose men and women are now, and will be for some time, on trial before the world.

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THE JEWISH DILEMMA

By
ELMER BERGER

This highly controversial book, by a young American rabbi, who dissents from the Zionist, Jewish-nationalist position, will become a notable landmark in history, for it is the first book to state the case of the average Jew who is interested in living a free life in peace and friendship in the land of his birth, rather than being considered a member of a "strange people" which is "forever alien, homeless and uprooted" and which must have a National Homeland of its own in Palestine.

In *The Jewish Dilemma* Rabbi Berger poses the choice for Jews between a pattern of freedom and emancipation, and a pattern of segregation in an isolated Jewish State. He strongly takes issue with those who have dramatically assumed to speak for all Jews and regiment them into the Zionist nationalist ideology.

Whether as Jews facing problems or as Christians hoping to help Jews solve their common problems, readers will find this a book of utmost importance as background for thought and action.

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Keys to freedom

OURSELVES, INC. by Leo R. Ward. Harpers 236 *pages.* $2.50

Under the fascinating title of *Ourselves, Inc.,* Dr. Leo Ward, professor of philosophy at Notre Dame University, has written the most human book I have ever read on the co-operative movement. The author approaches the subject of the co-ops from a spiritual and ethical rather than a materialistic viewpoint. His lofty and inspiring analysis can be summed up in one of his sentences—"a movement, a way of life, a philosophy, a vision."

I finished the book with almost a conviction of sin that, as an active member for many years in the British Co-operative movement, I had possibly missed something of significance. What was it that, springing from the feeble efforts of a handful of poor Rochdale weavers, caused it to become, in less than a hundred years, the greatest trading concern in the British Commonwealth and to spread its influence throughout the world? Dr. Ward goes far toward supplying the answer.

Ourselves, Inc. deals in the main with the movement in this country. Dr. Ward made extensive pilgrimages to various communities where "The Co-op" has become a way of life. These experiences he describes in picturesque and graphic language. No one looking for some answer to the economic problems that plague our modern society can study his analysis without a conviction that he has pointed out a pathway toward a better world.

After discovering the strides that have been made in Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries (to single out the two groups where the growth has been really amazing) one is puzzled at its relative backwardness in this great country. In spite of certain successes in the West and the progress made in smaller communities, the urban populations of the great cities of America have been, on the whole, cold to "The Co-ops." It is almost "a middle class affair." It is horribly respectable and the atmosphere of some of the stores and cafeterias bring up visions of a Sunday afternoon in a Calvinistic household.

The strength of Cooperation in the countries I have mentioned is largely due to the fact that its roots are deep in working class soil and that it has the unswerving devotion of millions working in the various labor movements. Quoting from the author in his chapter entitled "Labor and the Co-ops," he says, "The problem is the emancipation of man and, in our time, the emancipation of Labor. What have the Co-ops to say in this vital connection? Happily, it is here that they are proud to speak up. For one thing, it was weavers who formed the early model co-operatives. The men of Rochdale were not farmers but poor laborers. It was the seven laws, or principles, written by these persons, and written intelligently on the solid stones of their wills, that were to remain forever the basis of cooperation."

Ourselves, Inc. is "a must" for FREE WORLD readers.

H. J. B. CRAVEN

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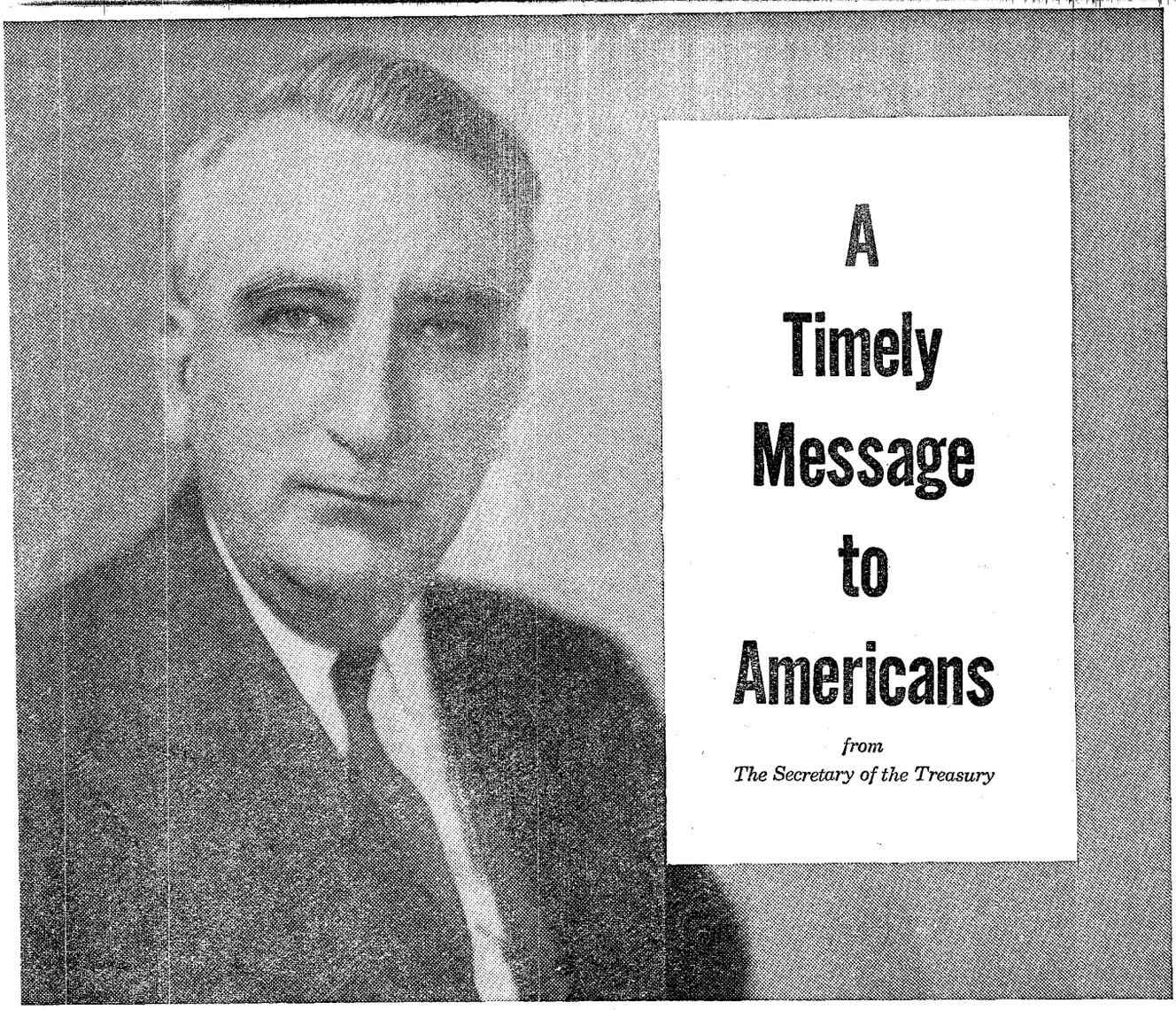

A Timely Message to Americans

from
The Secretary of the Treasury

merica has much to be thankful for.

Abroad we have overcome enemies hose strength not long ago sent a udder of fear throughout the world.

At home we have checked an enemy at would have impaired our economy d our American way of life. That en- ny was inflation—runaway prices.

The credit for this achievement, like e credit for military victory, belongs the people.

You—the individual American citizen have kept our economy strong in the ce of the greatest inflationary threat is nation ever faced.

You did it by simple, everyday acts good citizenship.

You put, on the average, nearly one- urth of your income into War Bonds d other savings. The 85,000,000 vners of War Bonds not only helped y the costs of war, but also contributed greatly to a stable, prosperous postwar nation.

You, the individual American citizen, also helped by cooperation with ration- ing, price and wage controls, by exer- cising restraint in your buying and by accepting high wartime taxes.

All those things relieved the pressure on prices.

THE TASK AHEAD

We now set our faces toward this future: a prosperous, stable postwar America —an America with jobs and an oppor- tunity for all.

To achieve this we must steer a firm course between an inflationary price rise such as followed World War I and a deflation that might mean prolonged unemployment. Prices rose more sharply after the last war than they did during the conflict and paved the way for the depression that followed—a depression which meant unemployment, business failures and farm foreclosures for many.

Today *you* can help steer our course toward a prosperous America:

—by buying all the Victory Bonds you can afford *and by holding on to the War Bonds you now have*

—by cooperating with such price, rationing and other controls as may be necessary for a while longer

—by continuing to exercise patience and good sense with high faith in our future.

The challenge to America of switching from war to peace with a minimum of clashing gears is a big one.

But it is a small one compared to the tasks this nation has accomplished since Sunday, December 7, 1941.

Fred M. Vinson
Secretary of the Treasury

A Government message prepared by the War Advertising Council and contributed by this magazine in cooperation with the Magazine Publishers of America.

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WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

JOSEPH HIRSH'S The Apennine Way pleased your Editors so much we haven't yet recovered. He'll doff his major's oak leaf soon, and we hope to hear much more from him.

★ ★ ★

LT. BYRON BUCKERIDGE, whose beautiful confession *What I am Fighting For* appeared in November 1944, returns with first impressions on returning home.

★ ★ ★

MAX MANDELLAUB wields a facile pen, but it has a hard time keeping up with his fertile brain. This month we print the first installment of an important analysis of foreign trade by Dr. Mandellaub.

ALLEN HADEN, who joined FREE WORLD as managing editor this month, has world-wide experience in diplomacy and journalism. Ten years in the U. S. diplomatic service was followed by five years as Latin American correspondent for the *Chicago Daily News.* He claims to be the only expert who has not yet written a book about our American neighbors. His analysis of Asst. Secretary of State Spruille Braden is his first contribution to our pages.

★ ★ ★

A lion-hearted leader of the French Resistance movement, *EMMANUEL D'ASTIER'S* courage is balanced by his erudition. Few in France can match his intimate knowledge of French reactions today.

MARY SEATON, our correspondent in London, follows up this month with another of her accurate and penetrating analyses of the Russians abroad and Britishers at home.

★ ★ ★

We'd like reactions to *NORRIS HOUGHTON'S* opening discussion of the theatre. Personally, we think it is swell.

★ ★ ★

And among our reviewers we want to call your attention to *DR. ORDWAY TEAD,* chairman of the Board of Higher Education of New York City . . . *ANTONIN BASCH,* distinguished Czech economist now teaching at Columbia University . . *BURNET HERSHEY,* foreign correspondent and commentator.

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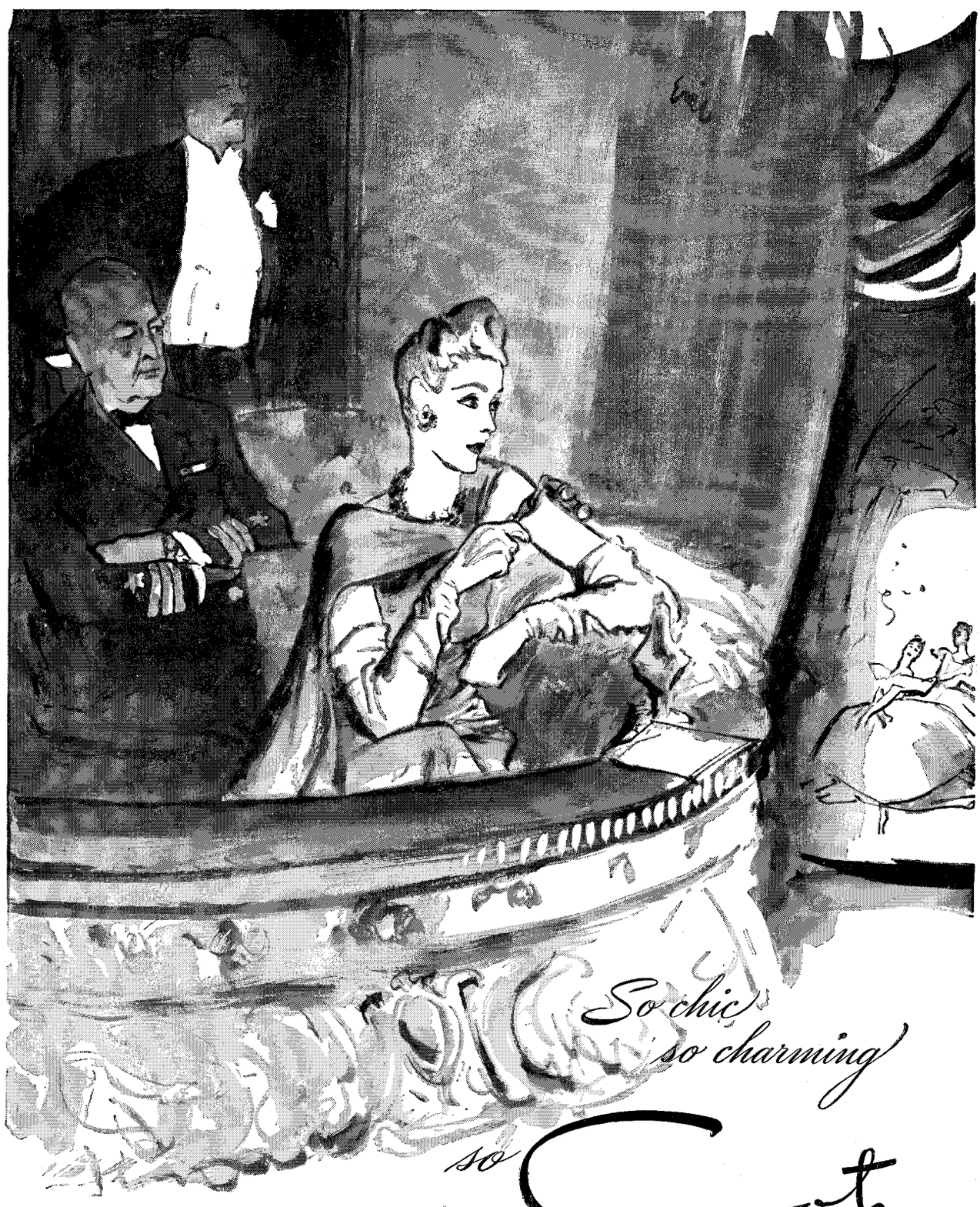

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SIXTY MILLION JOBS

YOU HAVE seen a lot of heated editorials and book reviews discussing the feasibility of Henry Wallace's plan for sixty million jobs by 1950. One of those sixty million jobs is your job. You, as an American citizen, will want to know the details of a plan that may deeply affect your security. You will want to know if there is anything you can do about it. For the answer we refer you to Henry Wallace's book, *Sixty Million Jobs.* In it Secretary Wallace tells point by point exactly what we can do to insure jobs and a more satisfactory life for all of us.

Read this book to buttress your faith in America's future. Read it now so that you can use its vital facts, its charts, its time-table-for-action as your personal ammunition in our common fight for full employment.

Henry Wallace's new book, "Sixty Million Jobs," comes in pamphlet form, price $1.00 or in a cloth-bound edition, price $2.00. Copies are available in book stores, department stores, drug stores—everywhere that books are sold. SIMON AND SCHUSTER *and* REYNAL & HITCHCOCK • PUBLISHERS

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